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ON THE UNITY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY
ST. CYPRIAN,
BISHOP OF CARTHAGE

(WRITTEN A.D. 251)

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY
Don
O. R. *odie* VASSALL-PHILLIPS

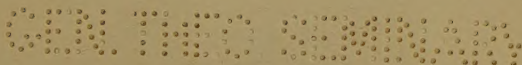
Priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer

Author of "The Work of St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis"; "The Mustard Tree";
"Catholic Christianity"; "The Mother of Christ," etc.

ONE BODY AND ONE SPIRIT.—Eph. iv. 4.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF THARCISIUS CAECILIUS CYPRIANUS, BISHOP OF CARTHAGE

The Life of St. Cyprian was written by St. Pontius his Deacon and is extant. It gives us no information as to the early years of Cyprian. Somewhat rhetorically, his biographer asks: "Where shall I begin? From what point shall I approach my task and set forth his good deeds, excepting from the beginning of his Faith, and his heavenly birthday? For assuredly the deeds of a Man of God ought not to be enumerated save from the time when he was born of God." Pontius informs us that all reference to St. Cyprian's studies, accomplishments and gifts, should be passed over as only "appertaining to worldly utility." In consequence of this reticence we are ignorant even of the date of Cyprian's birth. But he was, it is thought, probably a man of middle age when he was baptized in the year 246. Pontius is careful to say that even as a catechumen Cyprian had vowed chastity to God and sold most of his goods that they might be given to the poor, in order to prepare his readers for the startling fact that, notwithstanding the warning of the Apostle against the ordination of a neophyte, Cyprian was made both Priest and Bishop immediately (*statim*) after his

baptism. St. Cyprian was baptized by a venerable priest named Caecilianus (from whom he took his name of Caecilius), and it was whilst he was staying in his house, not yet baptized, that he was chosen—to quote the words of Pontius—“by the Judgment of God and the good will of the people” (*iudicio Dei et populi fauore*) Bishop of Carthage. The persecution of Christians inaugurated by the Emperor Decius burst out at the very beginning of A.D. 250. On January 20th the Apostolic See became vacant through the martyrdom of Pope St. Fabian. When the news reached Carthage, Cyprian went for a time into hiding. For this he was violently attacked, but, had he acted otherwise, he would have been immediately executed; and to leave, not only the Faithful in Rome, but also those at Carthage without a chief pastor, would have been disastrous for the welfare of Christianity. Both in Rome and Carthage the election of a new Bishop was impossible whilst persecution was still raging. So Cyprian, soon to be a most glorious martyr, for the moment hid. Pontius waxes eloquent in his enumeration of all that the Church would have lost, had Cyprian been then cast to the lions. He writes: “Well, yes, well indeed, and truly for the good of souls, did it fall out that a man, who was still needed for so many deeds of such excellence, was held back before the consummation of his martyrdom.” In answer to the charge of fear brought against Cyprian, he writes: “Fear he had indeed, but a right and holy fear—a fear which made him fear to offend the Lord—a fear which made him prefer to keep the Commandments of God rather than to be

crowned against His Will. For his mind was in all things dedicated to God, and so devoted to the divine warnings, that he believed that, had he not obeyed the Lord who commanded him at that time to hide, he would have sinned even in his very martyrdom."

By Easter, 250, in consequence of the appearance of a rival Emperor, the persecution lessened, and Cyprian was able to leave his hiding-place. The next six years were taken up with the government of his Church and much controversy with regard to such questions as the treatment of Christians who had lapsed into idolatry during the terrible persecution and the validity of baptism conferred by heretics.

Persecution broke out again in 257 under the Emperor Valerian. Cyprian was brought before the Proconsul Paternus, and, together with Pontius, sent into exile at Curulis. The town was lonely, but Pontius tells us that it was sunny and pleasant, and that there were plenty of visitors, whilst the citizens were full of kindness. But next year Cyprian heard that Pope St. Sixtus had been put to death in the Catacombs and knew that his work was done and that the time had come when he should receive his reward—for a new edict had been issued commanding that all Bishops, Priests and Deacons should forthwith be put to death. Galerius Maximus, the successor of Paternus, summoned Cyprian back to Carthage. In his own gardens the holy Bishop calmly awaited the final sentence. Many great personages urged him to fly, but he had now no inspiration from above urging this course upon him, and his one desire was to encourage others to endure to the end. Still, he re-

fused the Proconsul's summons to Utica, for he said that it was fitting that a Bishop should die in his own city. He was tried at "the villa of Sextus." When he refused to sacrifice to the gods, and the Proconsul had read his condemnation, the multitude cried aloud: "Let us be beheaded with him." He was taken into the grounds, to a hollow surrounded by trees, into which many of the people climbed. St. Cyprian stood in his linen tunic, awaiting the executioner, to whom he ordered that twenty-five gold pieces should be given. The Faithful cast cloths and handkerchiefs before him, to catch his blood. He bandaged his own eyes with the help of a priest and a deacon—both called Julius. Thus did he, the first Bishop of Carthage to suffer martyrdom, render his soul to God. His name is in the Canon of the Mass and will be held in veneration in the Church of God as long as time shall be.

PREFACE

Of the many people who have heard of, and even conversed about St. Cyprian's Treatise *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate*, and especially about its "Interpolations," I fancy that but a very small proportion have read the whole Treatise for themselves. Yet it cannot be its length that has deterred them, for it may easily be read through in an hour or two. But one cannot read anything, however short it may be, which is not within one's reach. And until now the *De Unitate* has been out of the reach of most people in England. Of course for all who are not acquainted with Latin the original is a closed book. Two English Translations are, it is true, in existence—the first published in 1839 in the third volume of the Oxford *Library of the Fathers* with a short prefatory Note signed *J.H.N.*, in which we read that the Editors were indebted for "almost the whole" of the Translation of St. Cyprian (and therefore we may presume for the Translation of the *De Unitate*), to "the Rev. Charles Thornton of Christ Church"—the second published in 1868 by Messrs. Clark as the eighth volume of their *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (this Translation was made by the Rev. Robert Ernest Wallis, Ph.D.). However, both these works are expensive and but little known. So it occurred to me that it is possible that a certain number of English speaking Christians, who have heard of the great St. Cyprian, would be glad to be able to provide themselves with a moderately-priced Translation of his famous book *De Unitate*.

Concerning St. Cyprian himself I may rescue some words of Dr. Newman from the Preface in the *Library*

of the *Fathers* which I have just mentioned. Their distinctive style is such that we should know from whose pen they dropped, even without the familiar initials which first gave them to the world; they emerge to us out of a past that will always live, dated as they are: "Oxford, Feast of St. Mark, 1839"—that is six years and a half before the great "going-out" of '45, when he who wrote them entered into the Promised Land of the Children of God, and was re-incorporated in "the Unity of the Catholic Church."

"Some such notice [*The Life of St. Cyprian by Pontius his Deacon*] of St. Cyprian's life and death was necessary to introduce the following Treatises; the force of which as compositions, depends in no small degree on some previous knowledge of the character and history of the writer. They are the words of one who loved Christianity well enough to give up for it at a mature age secular engagements, settled habits and opinions, prosperity, quiet and at length life itself. While exhorting to almsgiving, he is already an example of voluntary poverty; if he praises virginity, he has himself embraced the single life; he insists on the nothingness of things earthly, having first chosen contempt and reproach; he denounces the heathen magistrate with the knowledge that he is braving his power; and he is severe with the lapsed, because he himself is to be a Martyr."

Of all St. Cyprian's treatises the *De Unitate* is perhaps the most characteristic of its author; yet a knowledge of his life is not of such consequence for its sympathetic understanding, as is the case with his other works, many of which as regards their subject-matter are of no practical interest to the present generation of readers. Treatises for example on *The Vanity of Idols*, or on *The Dress of Virgins* are not likely to affect us deeply, and apart from the personality of their writer

would hardly be known to us even by name. But what St. Cyprian wrote in the third century after Christ about *The Unity of the Catholic Church*, for the benefit of Christendom in Rome and Africa, concerns equally us here in England nearly seventeen hundred years later; for in this case we have to deal with bed-rock Christian *principles*, and, though all else is liable to change, Christian principles are immutable as God from whom they come. They vary not though the ages pass, and are as fixed for Englishmen as for Africans and Italians. The idols worshipped in our market-places to-day are very different from the idols of Greek and Roman mythology; rules with regard to the dress of ladies, wise enough in one period of the world's history, would be ridiculous in another—external modesty is always a duty for Christian women, still it will be generally admitted that customs and fashions change their significance with the change of social conventions—but the controversy concerning the Unity of the Visible Church remains where Cyprian left it. The Unity of the Church founded by Christ on Peter, and the consequent obligation of belonging to that Church, is still strenuously maintained, and is still strenuously denied. Here we have a living question, and one of first-rate importance in the eyes of all thoughtful people who believe in Christianity. Is it true, or is it not true that, as for instance St. Augustine wrote in the fifth century: "There is nothing a Christian ought so to dread as to be separated from the Body of Christ."??¹ If this was true then, it must be true now. If it is false now, it was false then.

The testimony of St. Cyprian and his arguments on this subject can never lose their value, so long as men see on the one hand a Visible Church at unity with itself, urging vehemently now, as it has urged throughout all

¹ Homil. in S. Ioannem xxvii. 6.

the ages, that it is the authorized, public Representative of Christ to men, and on the other hand Christians holding themselves free to live apart from its communion. As long as schism lasts, St. Cyprian's work will have its place in the armoury of the Catholic Church.

Accordingly, I determined to translate the African Latin of the *De Unitate* into English quite faithfully and literally, even though *literally* would often, of necessity, mean baldly, and then to publish my translation in as convenient a form as possible.¹ I made up my mind also to let St. Cyprian speak for himself and to interpose but few footnotes of my own between him and my readers. Such footnotes, therefore, as are to be found in this book have been inserted as a convenience, for purposes of reference or for elucidation of the text.²

I have, however, appended three notes—one on the so-called "Interpolations" which I have not translated in the text, whilst the second and third concern certain expressions in the *De Unitate* to which Anti-Papal controversialists attach considerable importance. To the work of one of these controversialists (Mr. Denny's "Papalism") my readers may think that I ascribe too much weight. As a matter of fact, I quite agree that appearances are against me. It seems to me almost inevitable that readers of Mr. Denny's book, whether

¹ I may perhaps say that I did not read or refer to either of the existing Translations until I had finished my own work—so that my translation is quite independent of the others, though I checked it by them after it was finished.

² They consist mainly of references to St. Cyprian's other writings, or to those of subsequent Fathers of the Church, which appear to me to be reminiscent of the text; especially I have referred to St. Optatus of Milevis, whose great work *against the Donatists* was, doctrinally, based on the *De Unitate*. I have also inserted in its place, without comment, the one Footnote to be found in *The Library of the Fathers* (the translation in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* has not a single note).

Anglican or Catholic, will see plainly that Mr. Denny sets out to prove too much for his own case. But on the other hand I cannot forget that the present Bishop of London recommended his clergy, not very many years ago assembled in Synod, to read "Papalism," as a great bulwark against "the pretensions of the See of Rome." After such a recommendation (to which I owe my own acquaintance with *Papalism*), it is impossible to ignore what Mr. Denny has to say.

If you were to ask me whether I think that St. Cyprian would have accepted the dogma of the Infallibility (or Inerrancy) of the Bishop of Rome teaching Christianity *ex Cathedra Petri*, had this dogma been presented to his mind before it had been formally defined, I should hesitate as to my answer, or rather I should ask to be allowed to answer neither categorically, *Yes*, nor (and much less) categorically, *No*, but should rather beg to be permitted to reply by way of making some observations.

I am inclined to think that St. Cyprian would have first reflected, and then said, "Who can doubt it?" I feel sure that St. Cyprian would never have admitted the opposite proposition—*i.e.*, that False Teaching (*perfidia*) concerning the Faith can come from the Chair of the Apostle upon whom Christ built His Church.¹

We must always bear in mind the fact that St. Cyprian lived in the century before the Council of Nicaea. His lot was cast on earth before the days of Definitions of Faith and Œcumenical Councils. To St. Cyprian the Faith was a Divine Tradition—*Dei Traditio* he calls it—in opposition to the traditions of men.² This Divine Tradition, received by the Catholic Church from God

¹ Cf. Ep. xlv. 14.

² *De Unilate* xix.

Incarnate and from His Holy Spirit, was handed down by the Apostles to Bishops whom they appointed (*e.g.*, Timothy and Titus) and from Bishop to Bishop, especially in the Sees founded by one of the Apostles. Thus the Catholic Faith was safeguarded by the Catholic Episcopate.

Every new heresy as it emerges becomes not only a menace, but also a challenge to the consciousness of the Church as to the Faith, of which the purity and integrity are preserved for all time by the indwelling within her of the Holy Spirit of God. I hardly think that St. Cyprian had asked himself *how* in time of need the Church could respond to this challenge, that is *how* she could find an authoritative voice and express the truth she possessed, in formal utterance. He probably thought that heresy would always be too obvious to require much unmasking *as heresy*. He lived before the times of the great heresiarchs and their subtleties. In case of difficulty St. Cyprian would, I believe, after the example of Irenaeus and Tertullian, have sought the true Tradition from an Apostolic See, and beyond all others from the See of Rome.¹ But the time had not yet come for definitions of doctrine *as such*, either from Bishops assembled in Councils other than national, or from the Apostolic Chair of Peter. St. Cyprian was concerned with schisms rather than with heresies.

It may, then, be freely admitted that belief amongst the Faithful as to the Organs of authoritative Teaching in the Church was subconscious before it became fully conscious and articulate. *But* history shows us the Pope ruling and teaching all over the world from the beginning, long before an Œcumenical Council came into the vision of the Church. If this statement be challenged, it is enough to refer to the letter of Pope St. Clement to the

¹ Cf. *De Haeret.* iii. 2, 3. *Praescript.* 21—31.

Corinthians in the first century, and to the statement of St. Irenaeus in the second that a succession of Roman Bishops had already exercised their authority in the East. Dom John Chapman, O.S.B., whose authority on Patristic questions is admitted by all, has explained in his paper on *The Papacy* (Cambridge Summer School, 1923) that we cannot find any trace in any age of any Pope ever claiming less than absolute authority whether in Faith or discipline. As for "General" Councils they only became possible long after Cyprian's time, and when they came several of them were admittedly heretical.

If the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Successor of St. Peter be a development, so too, assuredly, is the doctrine of the Infallibility of Œcumenical Councils. It is most unreasonable to reject the first and to accept the latter.

I fancy, therefore, that St. Cyprian might have at first sight been startled had he seen a clear-cut Definition of Faith either authoritatively condemning for all time some heresy, or authoritatively teaching for all time some revealed truth as part of the Deposit once received by the Apostles. In his day the appeal against any false teaching as it arose, lay in practice not to an Œcumenical Council, nor always directly to the Pope, but usually rather to the Tradition existing in *any Catholic Church*—that is in any Church in communion with the rest of Catholic Christendom and above all in communion with that "Chair of Peter," from which, Cyprian writes that "the Unity of the Episcopate has its origin."¹

But, though St. Cyprian might not have looked expectantly to Rome, or elsewhere, for an explicit *ex Cathedra* Definition of revealed Truth, there can hardly be a doubt that, had the question been put to him whether, were such a Definition in fact to be issued from

¹ Ep. lix. (al. liv) 14.

the Chair of Peter, it could be false, he would have unhesitatingly answered in the negative. He might possibly have extended the protecting assistance of the Holy Spirit to the Episcopate somewhat further than we should do to-day, and have denied that any Catholic Bishop, when teaching officially, would be allowed by God to guide his flock into error.¹

However the case may stand with regard to any other Bishops, it would certainly have seemed to Cyprian incredible that the Bishop of that Roman Church to which, as he reminds us, "error in faith cannot have access,"² should, in matters of faith, lead astray the Flock of Christ. To Pope Cornelius St. Cyprian wrote that a letter had been sent to all the Bishops of Africa, exhorting them "to approve firmly and hold fast thee and thy communion—that is the Unity and the Charity alike of the Catholic Church."³ If it be, as it is here, distinctly implied, and indeed stated, that an essential condition of being within "the Unity and the Charity of the Catholic Church" is to "hold fast the communion" of the Pope, how could that Unity and Charity be preserved in the inconceivable event of the Pope teaching authoritatively falsehood in-

¹ Cf. *ib.* 5.

² *Ib.* 14. "Romanos, quorum fides Apostolo laudata est, ad quos perfidia non possit habere accessum." *Perfidia* in St. Cyprian is error in faith, as opposed to *Fides*, the Faith once delivered. Thus in this treatise we find "*perfidiam* sub praetextu *fidei*," de *perfidia* procreati *fidei* gratiam perdunt (Cap. xi); non erit illa *fidei* corona, sed poena *perfidiae* (Cap. xiv); pro *fide* *perfidus* (Cap. xi); writing of one who abandons the Church and rends the concord of Unity, *fidem* primam posteriore *perfidia* mutaverit (Cap. xxi); ampliorum consequuntur *fidei* suae laudem, quod ab eorum *perfidia* segregati (Cap. xxii). Similarly *perfidi* are heretics as opposed to *fideles*, the Faithful. Thus he writes: "Exprobrans discordiam *perfidis*, et *fidelibus* pacem commendans (xii); and commenting on I. Cor. xi. 19 "Sic probantur *Fideles*, sic *Perfidi* deteguntur" (Cap. x).

³ Ep. xlviii. 3. (Al. xlv).

stead of Truth, or error instead of the Faith once delivered to the Saints? If doctrinal error (perfidia) could not have access to the Roman Christians, how much less to their Bishop, when teaching *ex Cathedra Petri*?

Whilst then I own that I think it might be rash to assert that the doctrine of Infallibility of the Apostolic See had been explicitly developed, at least in Africa, in the third century, it seems to me clear that it would be far more rash to maintain that the definition of the Vatican Council on this subject was anything but a legitimate development of principles asserted expressly by St. Cyprian. It is demonstrably certain that there is nothing in the *De Unitate*—nor elsewhere in the writings of Cyprian—which is in any way contrary to that Definition.

If more than this be sought, we shall do well to remember that the Treatise *De Unitate* is *not* a Treatise *De Cathedra Petri*, nor on the seat of teaching authority in the Catholic Church, nor even on the mode of preserving Catholic Unity (touching on this subject St. Cyprian writes that there is no need of long discussion, for it suffices to say compendiously, by way of easy setting out of the truth, that our Lord built His Church, which is One, upon one man, and that his name is Peter).¹ The *De Unitate* is a Treatise on the wickedness of schism, that is to say of separation, under any pretext whatsoever, from the One Catholic Church of Christ.

Its whole drift is summed up in the warning:

“Let no one think that good men can leave the Church.”²

And again:

“Whatever leaves the womb, will not be able to live

¹ *De Unitate* iv.

² *Nemo existimet bonos de Ecclesia posse discedere. Ib.* ix.

and breathe apart. It loses the substance of health."¹

Sentences similar in import are scattered throughout the *De Unitate*. Indeed St. Cyprian is so absolutely sure of the Unity of the Church that it even led him into views, condemned by the Church notwithstanding his great authority, on the impossibility of Baptism being validly conferred by heretics. As to this point of the absolute Unity of the Church every subsequent Father, and the whole of Antiquity, Greek and Latin, praised Cyprian's "admirable teaching." The inference about the invalidity of heretical Baptism, after having been rejected by the Holy See, was condemned by all Catholics. On this subject Father Chapman writes:

"St. Cyprian did not see that the question of re-baptism was a question of doctrine; he regarded it as a question of practice. . . . Did he claim the right to disobey [in matters of practice the Pope is admittedly not infallible] and did he actually disobey? We do not know. Stephen died; Cyprian was exiled in the following year, and suffered martyrdom in the next."²

To St. Cyprian the Church is One Body on earth, united and indivisible, organized and having authority; St. Cyprian conceives of the Church's Unity as a *visible* Unity and makes actual communion with this visible Church to be the test of membership with the Church of Christ; he also makes membership with this Church a necessary condition of salvation. This undeniable fact rules out every suggestion that there can be separate

¹ Quidquid a matrice discesserit, seorsum uiuere et spirare non poterit, substantiam salutis amittit. (*Ib.* xxiii.) By *matrix* St. Cyprian probably meant the Church. It is interesting to compare Ep. xlv. 3, where he wrote to Pope Cornelius: "We are conscious of having exhorted everyone who sets sail [for Rome] to recognize and hold fast the womb and root of the Catholic Church." Harnack and other distinguished Protestant scholars hold that by "the womb and root of the Catholic Church" St. Cyprian meant the Apostolic See of Peter.

² *The Papacy*, p. 34.

"Churches," such as Lutheran, or Anglican, or Christadelphian, or "Roman Catholic," yet all in one Church, for St. Cyprian persists that only *one* visibly united Body is the one visible Ark of Salvation.

It is this fact which shows that it is impossible to fit the "De Unitate" into any theory of Anglicanism.

In the *De Unitate* it is assumed that the Church of Christ is externally *indivisible*. But, every theory of Anglicanism assumes the external *divisibility* of the Church of Christ at the present moment.

It is taken for granted in the *De Unitate* that Catholic Bishops are in external communion one with another. It is taken for granted by every Anglican, who thinks on these subjects at all, that external communion between Bishops may be sundered, and that Bishops, out of communion with one another and even out of communion with the Apostolic See of Peter, may yet remain, all of them, Bishops of the One Catholic Church.

For example, at the present moment the Bishop of Rome and the Archbishop of Canterbury are not in communion with each other. Catholics say: "They cannot, then, *both* be Catholic Bishops," and so would have said St. Cyprian. No one can read this Treatise and doubt it. But Anglicans are driven to maintain that both Bishop of Rome and Archbishop of Canterbury are Bishops ruling and teaching the same One Church—the Archbishop of Canterbury because otherwise they could not be Anglicans—the Bishop of Rome for reasons which are obvious.¹ I do not see how any thoughtful reader can assimilate St. Cyprian's doctrine in the *De Unitate*, and still believe in his heart that St. Cyprian would have tolerated Anglicanism to-day. He may, conceivably, think that St. Cyprian's doctrine on the Unity of the Episcopate, part of which is held by each *in solidum*,²

¹ *E.g.* "Fabiani [Pii] locus, id est locus Petri et gradus Cathedrae sacerdotalis." S. Cyp., Ep. lv. 8.

² See Appended Note B.

leaves no room either for the existence of heretical Bishops (now an undeniable fact)¹ or for the Pope's authority (as we now accept it in the Catholic Unity); even so, he will not think that St. Cyprian's doctrine can be reconciled with an externally divided Church. On this subject at least St. Cyprian's words are too emphatic to be overlooked and too clear to admit of doubt as to their meaning. They go to the very centre and root of his teaching, as he presents it to those who will dispassionately follow his argument.

For Catholics it is a matter of all but merely academic interest, as to whether or no St. Cyprian's doctrine can be accepted as it stands; but for all those Anglicans who believe in historic Christianity it is a matter of life and death.

It is a matter of comparative unimportance for Catholics, because we are not committed to St. Cyprian, or to any Father of the Church, excepting so far as he delivers to us that Faith which was delivered in the beginning to the Apostles. High as is the authority of the Fathers as witnesses, they were none of them, as such, infallible as teachers; and even as witnesses they may have been mistaken—for example, they may sometimes have regarded what was in truth merely a local custom as part of the Divine Tradition, emanating from the Apostles, and therefore, binding for all time the Universal Church. Thus to Catholics it is no difficulty to find that St. Cyprian was certainly mistaken as to the African theory with regard to the invalidity of heretical Baptism. This was merely a local African development received by Cyprian from Tertullian after Tertullian had fallen into schism and heresy, and was opposed to the Apostolic Tradition.

¹ *E.g.* Copts (Monophysites) and Nestorians to be found in Egypt and Asia.

Infallibility is the endowment of the Teaching Church alone, and to that Teaching Church all the Catholic Fathers, as individuals, bowed with complete submission.

St. Cyprian was a convert to the Faith. He received the Catholic Tradition not from any Apostolic See, which one of the Apostles watered both with his blood and with the doctrine which he had received from God—but from Africa, where Tertullian was still a great authority. Now, Tertullian had, in consequence of a stern rigorism which he would not surrender, been false to his own declared principles, had revolted from the Apostolic See, and apostatized from the Church.¹ Even though, then, St. Cyprian may not have learned in its fulness from his African instructors the revealed doctrine concerning the place given to Peter's successors in the ruling of the Church of God, we need not be surprised, and there is nothing in this to disturb us.

We may in any case be certain that had St. Cyprian lived to our day, he would have recognized the fact that, as each Diocese must have one ruler to preserve its Unity, so, similarly must the Church Universal.² Otherwise his basic principles will inevitably collapse. Moreover we may be quite sure that he would in this, as in all

¹ We must always remember that in all probability St. Cyprian had, outside of Holy Scripture, no Christian writings to study, excepting those of Tertullian.

² There is a curious passage in the *De Unitate Idolorum* written four years before the *De Unitate*. St. Cyprian provides us with an illustration, rather bizarre it seems to me in its application, to prove the Unity of God. "All nature here consents [as to the advantage of Unity in government]. Bees have one queen, the flocks one guide, the herds one lord; far more has the world but one Ruler," etc. (Cap. v). The author of these words would hardly have failed to perceive the necessity of one Ruler not merely in every Diocese but even more importantly in the Universal Church, to preserve its Unity, lest it become a House divided against itself.

other matters of Divine Faith, have accepted, had it been presented to him, the formal and authoritative teaching of that Church which alone he would have recognized as the One Catholic Church of Christ, since it alone (as a matter of visible fact) is functioning to-day throughout the world as One Body.

The suggestion that St. Cyprian died out of communion with the Apostolic See is unsupported by any weight of evidence and is contrary to fact. The evening of his days was overshadowed by the cloud of his unhappy difference with Pope St. Stephen but—*felix opportunitate mortis*—for him there was no night. St. Augustine writes, that whatever the faults, which in the course of that difference, Cyprian undoubtedly committed, they were washed out by the blood that he shed for Christ—in *gremio Unitatis* (the words are Augustine's own)¹—in the bosom of that maternal Catholic Unity of which he was the first and foremost champion.

Catholics, then, may read the *De Unitate* with great interest. As they do so, they will make their own every word they read, and accept the principles laid down by St. Cyprian to the full, so far as he states them, without any qualifications whatsoever. At the same time they may well be content to say *Transeat* to further questions—as to how far, for example, St. Cyprian recognized all that is, at least implicitly, contained in his own principles, and knew explicitly in the third century all that we know in the twentieth concerning the divinely bestowed prerogatives of the Chair of Peter.

But with Anglicans—at least with those Anglicans who care at all for historic Christianity—the case is very different. For many years past the chief resource of "Catholic-minded members of the Church of England," when confronted with the claims of the world-wide

¹ Ep. cviii.3.

Church in communion with the Apostolic See to their spiritual allegiance, has been to set up what their guides call the *Cyprianic* against what they call the *Papal* theory of the Church.

To take one example, it is not too much to say that this contention constitutes the whole basis of Mr. Denny's book on which he falls back again and again. Understanding (or misunderstanding, as it may be) St. Cyprian as he does, we cannot wonder at his writing: "The importance of this Treatise of St. Cyprian (the *De Unitate*) in connection with Papalism cannot well be over-estimated."¹ I do not myself think that the Treatise has much to do *directly* with "Papalism" either in support or disproof thereof. In neither form of chapter iv. does "Papalism" come in explicitly, but only implicitly, as showing what St. Cyprian held as to St. Peter. The plain surface meaning of the *De Unitate* as a whole does not refer to the Pope. But I quite agree as to its "importance" in connection with the subject on which it professedly treats—the external organic Unity of the Church, and the sin of abandoning that Unity. The fact that I recognize this importance has led me to make this translation. My readers can judge for themselves what St. Cyprian meant, for I have given them his own words in an English dress, and whilst his thought is pellucidly clear he is a master of vigorous writing.

If it is certain, as I believe it to be, that whatever St. Cyprian held is utterly inconsistent with Anglicanism, I do not see what refuge is left for those Anglicans, who are not content that their religion should have begun in the sixteenth century—in a form until then unknown in Christendom.

In case of theological difficulty Catholics appeal to the Living Church—that is to say to the Church of their

¹ *Papalism*, No. 573, p. 277.

own day, as did the Fathers before them. Anglicans, on the contrary, in consequence of their isolation, can make no such appeal. It is part of their argument that the Voice of the Church is suspended. They are, therefore, forced back to find a theory of the Church in the writings of Antiquity, which, if it does not justify or afford a parallel to their own position, at least will contradict the Faith of Catholics, and thus enable them to say: "For us it is impossible with self respect to submit to the See of Rome." Such a theory some imagine that they have found in their interpretation of St. Cyprian. They proceed to interpret other Fathers *in the terms of this, their private, interpretation of the De Unitate*. Granted that interpretation, the rest is easy. If that interpretation fails them, I know not where in Antiquity they will look to find the support they so sadly need. It is not open to them, as it is open to Catholics if the worst were to come to the worst (that is to say if it were clear that in any particular matter St. Cyprian really contradicted the Faith) to give up St. Cyprian in that particular matter, on the ground that his theory was in this instance opposed to the Divine Tradition, since his time defined, and now taught authoritatively, by the Living Church. With Anglicans on the other hand, it is either "the Cyprianic Theory," or Protestantism naked and unashamed, made manifest as something purely modern, the product of unrestrained private judgment. And I am convinced that the much advertised Cyprianic, anti-Papal Theory is in truth merely a somewhat capacious mare's nest. Many honest men vaguely appeal to Cyprian, to Cyprian I beg them to go.

The reader of the *De Unitate* will be startled at the severity of St. Cyprian's language concerning the sin of schism. We must remember that the schismatics, against whom St. Cyprian wrote, were no doubt in what we term

"formal," that is known, sin—for which they were responsible to God. They were schismatics of the first generation. No one should imagine that St. Cyprian would condemn the amiable and often God-fearing schismatics amongst whom our lot is cast—men and women who have inherited their schism often through centuries—to the lot of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. On the other hand we dare not forget that *principles* are immutable, and that the sin of schism is a question altogether independent of the sinfulness of particular schismatics. The sin of schism remains as heinous in itself in the sight of God as in the days when St. Cyprian wrote. The responsibility of any particular schismatic remains a matter between himself and his God alone. Here is ground on which no other dare intrude. All that a Catholic can do is to call attention to the unchanging Catholic Doctrine in the hope that the seed sown by the hands of the great Fathers of the Church may fall on fertile ground ready to receive it, and may germinate within the soul.

I would ask my readers to come fresh to St. Cyprian's pages without preconceived interpretation of any kind, and to let St. Cyprian speak for himself. Should they have never read the *De Unitate* before, if they are wise, it will be only after they have mastered its author's argument for themselves (the task is not over-difficult) that they will read discussions of commentators as to the meaning of his words.

This Treatise is usually known as *Liber De Unitate Ecclesiae*; St. Fulgentius, however, refers to it, under the somewhat curious title of "*De Simplicitate Praeceptorum*,"¹ and St. Cyprian himself alludes to it in the following words: "*Sed et Catholicae Ecclesiae Unita-*

¹ De Remissione Peccatorum i. 21.

*tem, quantum potuit, expressit nostra mediocritas."*¹ Thus we see that the full title, given to it by the author himself, is *Liber de Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate*.

With regard to the occasion of the publication of the *De Unitate* I would refer my readers to page 68.

The best Edition is that of Hartel, who used many MSS. which he described. The fullest account of all those which exist, is to be found in Hans Von Soden's "*Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung*" in *Texte und Unterguchungen* 25, 3 (1904).

¹ Ep. li.

A BOOK ON THE ONENESS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

1. We must be on our guard against the snares of the crafty foe.

Forasmuch as the Lord warns us, saying: "Ye are the salt of the earth,"¹ and bids us to be simple to the point of harmlessness, but yet to join prudence to simplicity—what else beseems us, most beloved brethren, save to use foresight, and—with hearts full of watchfulness and carefulness—both to understand, and also to be on our guard against, the snares of our crafty foe? Thus we who have put on² Christ, the Wisdom of God the Father, may not seem to lack wisdom in protecting our salvation.

For, it is not persecution alone that we have to dread, with the dangers which stalk abroad to overwhelm and cast down the servants of God in open onslaught. Where danger is manifest, caution is easy; and the mind is forewarned for conflict, when the enemy declares himself.

The foe is the more to be dreaded and to be guarded against when he creeps on us with stealth, when he mocks us with the similitude of peace, and, unobserved, approaches crawling. (From crawling

¹ Matt. v. 13.

² *Induimus*. Baluze prefers this reading to *induimur* (are clothed with). Cf. Cap. vii *ad finem*.

the serpent has received his name of crawler.¹⁾ Such is ever his craft, such his deceitfulness, full of stealth and darkness when he would circumvent man.

After this manner, in the very beginning of the world, he wrought his deceit, and led astray inexperienced souls through their too ready credulity, cozening them with words. After this manner did he essay to tempt the Lord Himself, and approached Him covertly, as if he would creep on Him again and deceive by wily stratagem. But then he was understood, and repelled, and overthrown—for the reason that he was recognized and unmasked.

II. We must keep the Commandments of Christ.

The example has thus been set us by which we may shun the path of our first father, and press forward in the footsteps of Christ the Conqueror, so that we may not, through heedlessness, be turned back anew into the nets of death, but, on our guard against danger, may possess the immortality which we have received. Yet how can we possess immortality, save by keeping the Commandments of Christ, by which death is victoriously overcome? For, He Himself warns us, saying:

“If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments.”²

And again:

“If you do those things which I command you,

¹ *Serpit, unde et nomen serpentis accepit.*

² Matt. xix. 17.

henceforth I will no longer call you servants but friends.”¹

Finally, these [His Disciples] He calls strong and steadfast, built upon a rock as a firm foundation, safeguarded against all the tempests and whirlwinds of the world with a secure and unshaken strength.

“He who hears My Words,” says He, “and keeps them I will liken to a wise man, who has built his house upon a rock. The storm has come down, the waves have come, the winds have blown and beaten upon that house, and it has not fallen. For it was built upon a rock.”²

We ought, therefore, to stand fast upon His words. Whatever He taught and did, that we ought to learn and to do. But how can that man say that he believes in Christ, who does not do what Christ ordered to be done? Or how shall that man arrive at the reward of faith, who is not willing to keep the faith of the Commandment?³ He must of necessity waver and wander astray and be caught up and blown about by the spirit of falsehood, even as dust is raised by the wind; nor will that man make advance in his walk towards salvation, who does not hold to the truth of salvation’s road.

¹ John xv. 14.

² Matt. vii. 24, 25.

³ Aut unde perueniet ad praemium Fidei, qui fidem non vult seruare mandati?

III. We must above all be on our guard against schisms and heresies.

We have then, most beloved brethren, not only to guard against evils which are open and manifest, but also against those which lead men astray through the craft of astute subtlety. Now what deed is there more crafty, what more artful than that of the Enemy, who was detected and laid low by the coming of Christ? After Light had come to the Gentiles, the torch of salvation shone upon men to renew their life, the deaf opened their ears to the word of ghostly grace, the blind unclosed their eyes to God, the sick regained their health for eternity, the lame ran to the church, the dumb prayed aloud, so that all could hear, whilst Satan saw his idols abandoned, his shrines, his temples, deserted through the great increase of the believing people. Then it was that the Adversary devised a new deceit, designing to lead astray the unwary through the very title of the Christian Name.

He has invented heresies and schisms, whereby to overturn the Faith, corrupt the Truth, rend Unity. Those whom he can no longer hold captive in the darkness of their old way of life, he marks down and deceives with the error of a new mode of travelling. He snatches men from out the Church herself—men whom, even as they fancy that they have already drawn near to the light and escaped the night of the world, he plunges, in their ignorance, once more into the darkness. They call themselves Christians, though they stand not in the Gospel of Christ.

and in His Obedience and Law—though walking in darkness, they think that they have the light, flattered and led astray by the Enemy, who, according to the saying of the Apostle, transforms himself into the appearance of an Angel of Light and decks out his servants as if they were the servants of justice—bringing night instead of day, destruction in the place of salvation, hopelessness under the shield of hope, faithlessness under the pretext of faith, Anti-christ under the Name of Christ. So comes it that, whilst uttering their specious falsehoods, by their craft they make void the truth. Things, most beloved brethren, come to this pass, when there is no return to the source of truth, and the Head is not sought, and the teaching of the heavenly Master is not preserved.¹

IV. The Unity of the Church.

If anyone will consider and weigh these things, there is no need for a long treatise and long arguments. An easy proof for Faith exists in a short summary of the truth.

The Lord speaks to Peter:

"I say unto thee"—these are His Words—"that thou art Peter, and upon this² Rock I will build My

¹ Dum ad ueritatis originem non reeditur, nec caput quaeritur, nec magisterii coelestis doctrina seruatur. For *ueritatis* Baluze with reason conjectured *unitatis*. Cf. in next chapter "*unitatis eiusdem originem ab uno incipientem*."

² "*super istam petram*." So the Old African Latin Version used by Tertullian and St. Cyprian. The Vulgate has *super hanc petram*. The pronoun *iste* means "this of yours," and implies the meaning "this Rock, which is you."

Church, and the gates of Hell shall not overcome it.¹ I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and what² thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound also in Heaven, and whatsoever³ thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed also in Heaven."⁴

Upon one does He build His Church.

And, although after His Resurrection He bestows upon all the Apostles a like power, and says: "Even as the Father hath sent Me, so do I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost—whose⁵ sins you shall forgive, they shall be forgiven unto him, whose sins you shall retain they shall be retained unto him,"⁶ still—that He might show forth unity—by His authority He has provided that the origin of this unity should begin from one.⁷

Assuredly, the other Apostles were also that which Peter was too, endowed with a like fellowship both of office and of power.⁸ Still the beginning goes forth from oneness, so that it may be shown that the Church of Christ is One.

This One Church was also pointed out by the Holy Ghost in the Canticle of Canticles, when He said in the Person of the Lord:

¹ uincet.

² quae.

³ quaecunque.

⁴ Matt. xvi. 18. Immediately after this quotation we find in certain MSS. the first of the doubtful passages, sometimes known as "the Interpolations." For them see Appended Note A. In the text I have translated nothing as to which there is any doubt as to whether it came from the pen of St. Cyprian.

⁵ cuius.

⁶ John xx. 23.

⁷ "Unitatis eiusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit."

⁸ "Hoc erant utique et ceteri Apostoli quod fuit et Petrus pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis." See Appended Note C.

"My dove, My spotless one is but one; she is the only one of her mother, elect of her that bare her."¹

Does he who holds not this Unity of the Church, think that he holds the Faith? Does he who strives against and resists the Church, believe that he is in the Church, though the Blessed Apostle Paul teaches and exhibits this same mystery of Unity,² saying:

"One Body and one Spirit, one Hope of your Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God"?³

V. The Unity of the Episcopate in the Church.

Now we ought to hold fast and defend this Unity—especially we Bishops, who preside in the Church, that we may show that the Episcopate too is itself one and undivided. Let no one lead astray the Brotherhood with falsehood—let no one corrupt the truth of the Faith by faithless prevarication.

The Episcopate, of which part is held by each severally and jointly, is One.⁴ The Church, likewise, which is spread abroad far and wide into a multitude through the increase of her fruitfulness, is One.

¹ St. Optatus in five places (i. 10; ii. 1; ii. 13; ii. 18; iv. 6) applies this passage (Cant. vi. 8) to the Unity of the Church. In ii. 18 he states that his Donatist adversary Parmenian had also understood it of the Church. No doubt both Parmenian and Optatus had this passage of St. Cyprian before their minds. So, too, St. Augustine (Homil. in Joan. vi. 10; iii. 12, 26).

² "Sacramentum Unitatis."

³ Eph. iv. 4.

⁴ "Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur."

⁵ See Appended Note B.

Just as the sun has many rays, but one light; and as a tree has many boughs, but one strength derived from its tenacious root; and as when many streams flow from one spring, though a multiplicity of waters is seen diffused in bountifulness as they gush forth—still Unity is preserved in the source, (part a ray of the sun from its body, and its unity forbids a division of light; break away a branch from a tree, that which has been broken off is unable to bud¹; cut off a stream from its source, and that which has been cut off dries up), so also the Church, illuminated by the light of her Lord, sends forth her rays throughout the world. Still, it is one light which is everywhere diffused, nor is there any division in the Unity of her body. She stretches her branches throughout the whole earth in the abundance of her plentiful growth. Further and further she extends her streams. Yet, one is her head, and one her source; she is one fruitful mother ever bearing children to the birth. From her womb we are born; on her milk we are nourished; by her breath we are quickened.²

¹ This paragraph is quoted by St. Augustine, *Serm.* 281, cap. 20, and *Cont. Crescon*, iii. 33.

² In the *Library of the Fathers*, there is only one footnote to the Translation of the *De Unitate*. This footnote is attached to this passage. I will place it here without comment: "The oneness here spoken of is, according to Roman Catholics, fulfilled in the organization of the *whole* Church; whereas according to Anglo-Catholics it is fulfilled in each *Bishoprick*, each Bishop viewed by himself being a full representation and successor of St. Peter."

VI. He will not arrive at the rewards promised by Christ who deserts the Church of Christ.

The Spouse of Christ cannot become wanton.¹ She is a virgin and chaste. She knows one house, and guards the sanctity of one bridal chamber with chaste reserve. She keeps us for God. She appoints to the Kingdom the sons to whom she has given life. Whoever has been separated from the Church is yoked with an adulteress, is separated from the Promises made to the Church. Nor shall he who leaves Christ's Church arrive at Christ's rewards. He is a stranger,² he is sacrilegious, he is an enemy. Who has not the Church for mother can no longer have God for father. If anyone outside the Ark of Noah could escape, then may he also escape who shall be outside the Church.

The Lord warns us with the words:

¹ *adultera*. (This passage is cited by St. Fulgentius. *De Remiss. peccatorum* i. 1. Cf. Optatus i. 10, "scimus enim haereticorum ecclesias singulorum prostitutas nullis legalibus sacramentis et sine iure honesti matrimonii esse.") So Cyprian himself (Ep. xliii. 5) writes of schismatics who desert the "una Ecclesia et Cathedra una super petram Domini voce fundata . . . adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegium est quodcumque humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio diuina uioletur." St. Bernard Ep. 191 wrote in the Name of Bishops to Pope Innocent. "Tibi commissa est Ecclesia Christi, amice Sponsi. Tuum est eandem Uni Uiro uirginem castam exhibere Christo."

² *alienus*. Thus Optatus (i. 12) developing this, writes of heretics "quos ab hortulo et a paradiso Dei constat *alienos*." St. Cyprian himself in this Treatise (Cap. xix) writes of *alienas* doctrinas, *i.e.*, doctrines foreign to those received by the Church from Divine Tradition.

"He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathereth not with Me, scattereth."¹

He who breaketh the Peace of Christ and His Concord, acteth against Christ. He who gathereth elsewhere than in the Church, scattereth the Church of Christ. The Lord says: "I and the Father are One."² And again, it has been written of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost:

"And these Three are One."³

And will any man believe that this Unity, which proceeds from the divine Strength and is knit together by heavenly Mysteries,⁴ admits of being rent in the Church and torn asunder through the clash of colliding wills? He that holds not this Unity, does not hold the Law of God, does not hold the Faith of the Father and the Son, holds not Life and Salvation.

VII. The Unity of the Church was prefigured by the seamless Coat of Christ.

This Mystery of Unity⁵—this bond of concord knitting men inseparably together—is shown forth in the Gospel where we read that the Coat of the Lord Jesus Christ was in no way divided or rent; but when they cast lots for the vesture of Christ, as to who should

¹ Matt. xii. 30.

² John x. 30.

³ I John v. 7.

⁴ Sacramentis coelestibus.

⁵ Hoc unitatis Sacramentum.

clothe himself with Christ,¹ it was obtained whole, and possessed without mutilation or division.²

The Divine Scripture speaks and says:

"Now of the Coat, since from its upper part it was without seam,³ woven throughout, they said one to another 'Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it whose it shall be.'"⁴

Christ wore the Unity⁵ which came down from above, that is which came from Heaven and from the Father—an Unity that could not in any way be rent by him who obtained and possessed it—for he received something which was whole and complete and kept together inseparably. Who rends and divides Christ's Church cannot possess Christ's garment. On the other hand, when, on the death of Solomon, his kingdom and people were rent asunder, for this reason Achias the Prophet met Jeroboam the king in the field and tore his raiment into twelve pieces, saying:

"Take to thee ten pieces, for thus sayeth the Lord: 'Behold I will rend the kingdom from the hand of Solomon, and will give to thee ten sceptres, and two sceptres shall remain to him for the sake of My servant David and for the sake of Jerusalem the City

¹ Sortientibus de ueste Christi quis Christum indueret.

² incorrupta atque indiuisa. Some MSS. read indiuidua.

³ John xix. 23.

⁴ *Ib.* 24.

⁵ Unitatem ille portabat. I understand *ille* of our Lord. In the *Library of the Fathers*, however, it is translated, "It has with it an unity"; in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*: "That Coat bore with it an unity." For this sense to be possible, it is of course necessary to read *illa* for *ille*.

which I have chosen, to place My Name there.'"¹

When the twelve tribes of Israel were rent asunder, Achias the Prophet tore his garment. But because the people of Christ cannot be rent asunder, His Coat, woven throughout and closely knit, was not divided by those to whom it fell. Undivided, its parts inseparable and bound together, it shows the closely-knit concord of our people, of us who have put on Christ. The Unity of the Church has been manifested in mystery and figure by the Coat.

VIII. The Unity of the Church is taught in the Holy Books by words and types.

Who, then, is so wicked and faithless, who so madened with the madness of discord, as either to believe that it is possible to rend, or himself to attempt to rend, the Unity of God,² which is the Vesture of the Lord, the Church of Christ. He Himself warns us in His Gospel, and teaches us, with the words:

"And there shall be one flock and one Shepherd."³

And does anyone imagine that there can be in one place either many shepherds or several flocks? More-

¹ I Kings xi. 31.

² Cf. John xvii. 20—22. "And not for these only [His Apostles] do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in Me, that they may be One, *as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee*; that they also may be One in Us, that the world may believe, that Thou hast sent Me. And the Glory which Thou hast given Me, I have given to them, that they may be One, *as We also are One.*"

³ John x. 16.

over, St. Paul also, persuading to this Unity, beseeches and warns us thus:

"I beseech you, brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be not schisms amongst you. But be perfectly joined together¹ in the same mind and in the same judgment."²

And once more, he writes:

"Bearing one with another in charity, careful to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."³

Dost thou think that thou canst stand and live, if thou withdrawest from the Church, and fashionest for thyself other habitations and different dwelling places—even though it was said to Rahab, in whom was foreshadowed the Church:

"Thou shalt gather together thy father and thy mother and all thy father's house to thyself into thy house, and it shall come to pass that whosoever shall go outside the door of thy house, his blood shall be on his own head."⁴

Again, the Mystery of the Passover in the Law of Exodus is summed up in this—that the Lamb, which was slain as a Type of Christ, should be eaten in *one* house: "In one house shall it be eaten; you shall not carry the flesh outside of the house."⁵

The Flesh of Christ, and the Holy of the Lord⁶

¹ *Compositi*. The Greek has *κατηρητισμένοι*. The Vulgate has *perfecti*.

² I Cor. i. 10.

⁴ Jos. ii. 18.

³ Eph. iv. 3.

⁵ Ex. xii. 46.

⁶ *Sanctum Domini*. The Eucharist. Cf. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*. It is well known that in the early ages of Christianity the Blessed Sacrament was carried to the houses of the Faithful.

may not be cast forth outside,¹ nor is there any other House for the Faithful, save the One Church.² This House, this Hostel of One-mindedness³ the Holy Ghost marks and points out in the Psalms, saying "God who makes men dwell with one mind in the House."⁴ In the House of God, in the Church of Christ men dwell with one mind and persevere in concord and simplicity.

¹ *Foras*. Outside the Catholic Church, to schismatics or heretics. In St. Cyprian's age the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament outside the church from one Catholic house to another, in token of spiritual intercourse and communion between the Faithful, was a cherished rite in constant and universal use. A vestige of this rite still remains. The Subdeacon (formerly an Acolyte), with a veil over his shoulders, used to bring a Consecrated Host from the Bishop's Mass to that of a priest celebrating elsewhere, and at the moment of the Fraction presented It to the celebrant who placed It in his own chalice. The Subdeacon still stands at High Mass in a position of honour, but now has nothing save an empty paten under his veil.

² Cf. St. Jerome, writing to Pope St. Damasus (Ep. xv): "I am linked in communion with thy Blessedness—that is with the Chair of Peter. On that Rock I know the Church was built. *Whosoever shall eat the Lamb outside that House* is profane." In this last sentence we may have a reminiscence or even an exegesis of St. Cyprian. Cyprian's "One Church, than which the Faithful have no other House," wherein alone the Lamb may be lawfully eaten, is identified by Jerome with houses (churches) "in communion with thy Blessedness," that is, with the successor of Peter, whose "Chair" is declared to be the "Rock on which I know that the Church was built."

³ *Hoc unanimitatis hospitium*.

⁴ Ps. lxxvii. 7.

*IX. Perseverance in the Church in one-mindedness,
concord and simplicity.*

For this reason the Holy Ghost has come as a Dove. A dove is a simple creature,¹ and joyous. It is not bitter with gall, it is not savage to bite, nor fierce to tear with its claws. It loves the company of mankind and learns to dwell in one house. When doves hatch, they bring up their young together; when they fare forth, they fly side by side upon the wing; they live their lives in community; with the kiss of the bill they seal the concord of peace. In all things they fulfil the law of one-mindedness.

Such is the simplicity that should be seen in the Church, such is the charity that should there be found, so that the Brotherhood should imitate doves in their love, and emulate sheep and lambs in their mildness. What has the heart of the Christian to do with the savagery of wolves, and the fierceness of dogs, and the deadly poison of snakes and the cruel fury of wild beasts? ² It may well be a subject of con-

¹ *Simplex animal*. Cf. Tertullian, *De Anima*. "Spiritus figura columbae delapsus in hominem, ut natura Spiritus Sancti declararetur per animal simplicitatis et innocentiae, quod etiam corporaliter ipso felle careant columbae."

² St. Augustine (Homil. in S. Joan. vi. 12) deals with the difficulty that in the Church there are many persons to be found who are not like "the dove, innocent, without gall, loving in its kisses, and not cruel with its talons" (a passage plainly reminiscent of Cyprian here), but rather like "the hawk, covetous, rapacious, deceitful, drunkards, lewd." He replies, acknowledging that "in the Catholic Church there are both bad and good, as the grain and the chaff." Still the admonition of Cyprian in the text holds good.

gratulation when such as these are separated from the Church, that they may not prey upon the doves and upon the sheep of Christ by their bitter and envenomed contagion. Bitterness cannot be mixed and have fellowship with sweetness, nor darkness with light, nor foul weather with fair, nor battle with peace, nor barrenness with fruitfulness, nor drought with springs, nor storm with calm.

Let no one imagine that good men can leave the Church.¹ The wind does not bear away the wheat nor does the hurricane tear up the tree which is based on a strong root. It is the light straw that is tossed about by the tempest; they are weak saplings which are overturned by a strong wind. Such as these are assailed and stricken by the Apostle John with the words:

“They went out from us, but they were not of us.

Catholics should remember that they are members of the Church which is the Dove, and the temples of the Holy Ghost who came as a Dove, and should therefore in their lives imitate the Dove, rather than the hawk, or wolves, or wild beasts, or reptiles.

¹ *Nemo existimet bonos de Ecclesia posse discedere.* St. Augustine very probably had these words in his mind when he wrote the famous sentence (*Contra Ep. Parmen.* III.) *Securus iudicat orbis terrarum bonos non esse qui se diuidunt ab orbe terrarum in quacunque parte terrarum.* “Let no one imagine . . .” is Cyprian’s warning. This is reinforced by the positive affirmation of Augustine: “If anyone should perversely think that they are good who separate themselves . . .,” let him remember that the Church throughout the world is unaffected by his perversity. The Church “judges without anxiety,” resting upon her divine authority, her tradition, her world-wide extension according to the Promises of Christ. *Securus iudicat Orbis Terrarum.* By *Orbis Terrarum* Augustine means as elsewhere (cf. also *Optatus passim*) the Catholic Church—the One Church dispersed throughout the world.

For if they had been of us, assuredly they would have remained with us."¹

X. Schism the fount of heresy.

From this cause have heresies often sprung up and are still springing up, whilst the perverted mind has no Peace, and faithless discord does not maintain Unity. Nevertheless, the Lord allows and suffers these things to be, whilst each man's will remains free—so that whilst our hearts and minds are tested in the crucible of truth, the sound faith of those that are approved may shine forth clear and undimmed. Through the Apostle, the Holy Ghost warns us beforehand, saying:

"It must needs be that heresies come, so that they who are approved may be manifest amongst you."²

In this way are the Faithful approved, in this way are the faithless unmasked.³ In this way, even before the Day of Judgment the souls of the just and the wicked are separated here below, and the chaff is winnowed from the wheat. These are they who, without appointment from God, of their own motion, take the first place amongst their daring associates, who constitute themselves prelates without any rite of Consecration,⁴ who take to themselves the name

¹ I John ii. 19.

² I Cor. xi. 19.

³ Sic probantur *fideles*, sic *perfidi* deteguntur.

⁴ Qui se praepositos sine ulla ordinationis lege constituunt.

of Bishop, though no one confers on them the Episcopate—who are pointed out in the Psalms by the Holy Ghost as sitting in the Chair of Pestilence,¹ the plague and corruption of the Faith, who deceive with a serpent's tongue, artful in corrupting the Truth, vomiting out deadly poisons from plague-stricken tongues, whose word spreads like a cancer,² whose discourse³ discharges deadly poison into the breasts and hearts of all who listen to them.

XI. The authors of schism must be avoided.

Against men of this character the Lord cries out; He curbs His wandering people, and calls them back from such as these, saying:

“Hearken not to the words of false prophets, since their visions are from their own hearts and deceive. They speak, but not from the Mouth of the Lord. To those who reject the Word of God they say: ‘Ye

¹ in Pestilentiae Cathedra. Optatus elaborates this idea, contrasting the position of the Donatist pseudo-bishop of Rome seated on the *Cathedra Pestilentiae* with that of the successor of Peter seated on the *Cathedra Petri*.

² quorum sermo ut cancer serpit. Cf. Ep. xliii. 5, where Cyprian says of schismatics, sermones eorum uelut *cancer* et pestem fugiendo uitate. Cf. also Optatus iv. 5, who writes of the heretics Marcion, Praxeas and Valentinus, horum est sermo qui habuit *cancer* ad Fidei membra uexanda, and of another heretic: huius sermo est qui uitandus est, ne *serpat* sicut *cancer* (Cyprian's expression in the text), and of his Donatist opponent Parmenian, uester sermo . . . non leue intulit *cancer*, again, uester sermo est, qui *serpit* uelut *cancer* hodie. The reference is to II Tim. ii. 17.

³ *tractatus*, cf. Optatus vii. 6. Omnis tractatus in Ecclesia.

shall have peace,' and to every one who walketh in the perverseness of his own heart they say: 'Evils shall not come upon thee.' . . . I have not spoken unto them, yet they have prophesied. If they had stood on My Foundation¹ and had heard My words, and if they had taught them to My people, I would have turned them from their wicked thoughts."²

These are they whom the Lord again marks out and brands, saying:

"They have abandoned Me, the Fountain of the water of Life and have digged to themselves broken cisterns, which cannot hold water."³

Although there cannot be any other Baptism excepting one, they think that they can baptize. They have deserted the Water of Life; yet they promise the grace of lifegiving and saving water. By them men are not washed, but are rather made filthy;⁴ nor by them are sins washed away, but are surely multi-

¹ *in substantia* (ὑποστάσει) *Mea*.

² Jer. xxiii. 16, 17; 21, 22.

³ Jer. ii. 13.

⁴ It is hardly necessary to say that St. Cyprian's view of the invalidity of heretical Baptism was condemned by Pope St. Stephen, and is now held by no one. There is reason to think that Optatus when he (xv. 3) wrote: "non de Iudaeorum aut haereticorum lauacro, qui, dum lauant, sordidant" (though the last word is reminiscent of Cyprian), by *haereticorum* meant not all heretics but only those who did not baptize *in the Name of the Trinity* (cf. i. 10, and the translation of Optatus published by Messrs. Longmans, p. 17, n. 1). The Catholic doctrine teaches that there is but one Baptism and but one Church. Even though a heretic or schismatic baptizes, provided he uses the necessary matter determined to its use by the necessary form, he baptizes the recipient of Baptism validly—and baptizes him not into his own heresy or schism, but into the One Catholic Church of Christ. The "Church of one's Baptism" is therefore in every case the One Catholic Church of Christ and no other.

plied. This birth does not bear sons to God, but to the Devil. Those who are there born do not, through a lie, receive the promises of Truth; but, begotten of faithlessness,¹ they lose the grace of the Faith. They cannot arrive at the reward of Peace, who have broken the Peace of the Lord with the madness of discord.

XII. The Lord is with the Lovers of Peace.

Nor let any deceive themselves by a futile interpretation of the Lord's Words:

"Wherever two or three shall be gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them."²

The corrupters and false interpreters of the Gospel quote the last words, and neglect those that came before. A part they remember; a part they craftily suppress. Just as they have been cut off from the Church, even so do they cut off a clause of what is but one passage. For, when the Lord would urge one-mindedness and peace upon His Disciples, He said to them:

"I say to you that if two of you shall agree together upon earth, concerning anything whatsoever that you shall ask, it shall be granted to you by My Father who is in Heaven, for wheresoever two or three shall be gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them."

¹ perfidia.

² Matt. xviii. 20.

By these words He pointed out that most is given not to the number, but to the one-mindedness, of those who pray. "If," He said, "two of you shall agree together upon earth." He placed one-mindedness in the first place; He demanded as a condition the concord of Peace; He taught us that we should agree together faithfully and firmly. But how can that man agree with anyone else who does not agree with the Body of the Church herself and with the universal Brotherhood? How can two or three be gathered together in Christ's Name, who, it is evident, are separated from Christ and from His Gospel? For we did not withdraw from them, but they from us.¹ And since heresies and schisms came to their birth after [the Church],² by setting up for themselves meeting-houses of various sorts,³ they have abandoned the Head and Source of the Truth. The Lord, then, is speaking concerning His Church, and He speaks to those who are in the Church, so that if they shall be in harmony with one another—if (in accordance with His Commandments and admonitions) even two or three shall be gathered together, and pray in one-mindedness—then (even though they be but two or three), they shall be able to obtain from the Majesty of God that which they ask. "Wherever two or three shall be gathered together in My Name, there I," He says, "am with them"—that is to say, with

¹ Non enim nos ab illis sed illi a nobis recesserunt. Cf. Optatus (i. 1), "Non Caecilianus recessit a Cathedra Petri vel Cypriani, sed Maiorinus."

² Postmodum. Cf. Optatus (vii. 5), "Considera ordinem rerum et qui fuerit prior."

³ Conuenticula. Sibi diuersa constituunt.

the simple and with those who live in peace, with those who fear God and keep His Commandments. With these, even though they be only two or three, He has said that He is present. Thus too was He present with the Three Children in the fiery furnace and—because they remained simple towards God and of one mind amongst themselves—He refreshed them in the midst of the encircling flames with the spirit of dew. So, once more, was He present with the two Apostles shut up in prison, and—because they were simple and of one mind—Himself He loosed the bolts of their dungeon, and placed them again in the market place, that they might deliver to the multitude the Word which they faithfully preached. When, therefore, He places this saying amongst His Precepts and says: “Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I with them,” He who instituted and made the Church does not separate men from the Church, but on account of the faithless¹ he blames discord, and by His own Word exhorts the Faithful² to Peace. He shows that He is with two or three who pray with one-mindedness, rather than with a great number who are in disagreement; and that more can be obtained by the harmonious prayer of a few than by the jangling supplication of many.

¹ perfidis.

² fidelibus.

XIII. He cannot be at peace with God who is not at peace with his brother.

Also, in accordance with this, when He would give the Law of Prayer, He made an addition, saying: "And when you shall stand to pray, forgive, if you have aught against any man, that your Father also who is in Heaven may forgive you your sins."¹ And He calls back from the altar one who would come to the sacrifice with dissension in his heart, and orders him first to be reconciled to his brother, and then, when he is in peace, to return and offer his gift to God, for God had no regard to the gifts of Cain. Nor could he be at peace with God,² who by reason of his envy and discord was not at peace with his brother. What kind of peace, we may ask, do the enemies of the Brethren promise themselves? What kind of sacrifices do they believe that they offer who are jealous of their Bishops?³ Do they, after they have been gathered together, deem that Christ is with them, when they have been gathered together outside Christ's Church?

XIV. The crime of schism is not washed away by Martyrdom.

Though such men as these be slain in confession of the Name [of Christ], the stain of their sin is not

¹ Mark xi. 25.

² *Neque enim pacatum habere Deum poterat.*

³ *Sacerdotum.*

washed away even by their blood. Inexpiable and heavy is the sin of discord nor is it purged by suffering. He cannot be a Martyr who is not in the Church. He shall not be able to attain to the Kingdom who has abandoned her who is to be the Queen.¹ Christ gave us Peace. He bade us live in concord and one-mindedness. He charged the bonds of love and charity to be preserved, incorrupt and inviolate. No man can show that he is a Martyr, who has not preserved the love of the Brotherhood. Paul the Apostle teaches this and bears witness, when he writes:

“Even if I should have Faith, so that I could remove mountains, but have not charity, I am nothing. And if I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned and have not charity, I am nothing. Charity is long-suffering,² charity is kind, charity envieth not, deal-eth not perversely, is not puffed up, is not easily provoked,³ thinketh no evil, loveth all things,⁴ believeth all things, hopeth all things, beareth all things. Charity shall never fall away.”⁵

Never, he says, shall charity fall away. For charity shall always be in the Kingdom, and shall last for ever in the Unity of the Brotherhood which

¹ qui eam quae regnatura est dereliquit.

² magnanima. So Cyprian in libro *de zelo et liuore*, in libro *de bono patientiae* et in libro *testimoniorum* iii. 3. Optatus has *magnanimis*. The Vulgate *patiens*. The Greek is μακροθυμεῖ.

³ non irritatur.

⁴ omnia diligit.

⁵ I Cor. xiii. 2, etc. St. Optatus follows St. Cyprian in his application of this passage (iii. 8; cf. vii. 3).

entwines itself around her. Discord cannot attain to the Kingdom of Heaven. He who has by faithless¹ dissension violated the Love of Christ shall not arrive at the rewards promised by Christ; for His are the Words:

“This is My Commandment, that you love one another, even as I have loved you.”²

He who possesseth not love, possesseth not God. It is the word of the Blessed Apostle John:

“God is love, and he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God abideth in him.”³

They cannot abide with God, who have refused to remain of one mind in the Church of God. Even though they may burn, having been handed over to the fiery flames, or though they may lay down their lives, having been cast to wild beasts, theirs shall not be the crown of Faith but the punishment of faithlessness, nor shall theirs be the glorious issue of valour inspired by religion,⁴ but a death of despair. A man of this kind may be slain; crowned he cannot be. He claims to be a Christian after the same fashion that the Devil often claims falsely to be Christ, as the Lord warned us when He said:

“Many shall come in My Name, saying: ‘I am the Christ,’ and shall deceive many.”⁵

No more than Satan is Christ, though he deceives in His Name, can that man be acknowledged as a Christian, who does not remain constant in the truth of His Gospel and of the Faith.

¹ perfida.

³ I John iv. 16.

⁵ Mark xiii. 6.

² John xv. 12.

⁴ *religiosae uirtutis*.

XV. We must obey the Commands and Admonitions of God.

For both to prophesy and to drive out devils and to work great miracles upon the earth is certainly a sublime and a wonderful thing, but, nevertheless, whoever he may be that is found to have done all these things, he gaineth not the Kingdom of Heaven, unless he walk carefully, keeping the right and appointed path. Of this the Lord warns us and says:

"Many shall say to Me on that day: 'Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Thy Name, and cast out devils in Thy Name, and in Thy Name worked great miracles?'

"And then I will say to them: 'I never knew you: depart from Me ye who work iniquity!'"¹

That any man may deserve to have God as his favourable Judge, there is need of justice."² We must obey His commands and warnings, that our merits may receive their reward.³ The Lord in His Gospel, when he would point out to us the way of hope and faith in a brief summary, says:

"The Lord thy God is One God;" and: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul and with all thy strength. This is the first Commandment, and the second is

¹ Matt. vii. 22.

² *Iustitia* opus est, ut promereri quis posset etc. *Iustitia* is the translation in the Latin Bibles of the Greek *δικαιοσύνη* translated *righteousness* in the A.V.

³ ut accipiant merita nostra mercedem.

like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Upon these two Commandments hang all the law and the Prophets.”¹

By His Authority² He taught at the same time Unity and Love; all the Prophets and the Law He included in two Commandments. But what Unity does that man preserve, what love does he either guard or have thought for, who, mad with the passion of discord, rends the Church asunder, destroys the Faith, disturbs peace, scatters charity, profanes the Mystery?³

XVI. Schisms have been foretold.

This evil, my most faithful brethren, began long since, but in these days its deadly mischief has widely spread, and the poisoned bane of heretical perversity and of schisms begins to spring up and shoot forth more and more, because thus it must be at the setting of the world,⁴ as the Holy Ghost declares to us through the Apostle in words of warning:

“In the last days,” He says, “dangerous times shall come. Men shall be lovers of themselves, proud, haughty, covetous, blasphemers, disobedient to their parents, ungrateful, wicked, without affection, faithless,⁵ slanderers, incontinent, harsh, loving not the good,⁶ traitors, stubborn, puffed up and deadened,

¹ Matt. xxii. 37; Mark xii. 29.

² Magisterio suo.

³ Sacramentum.

⁴ in occasu mundi.

⁵ sine foedere.

⁶ bonum non amantes.

lovers of pleasures rather than of God, having a false appearance of religion, but denying its power. Of these are they who creep into houses and prey upon¹ foolish women laden with sins and led away with various desires, ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. And even as Jamnes and Jambres resisted Moses, so do these men resist the truth, but they shall not gain very much. For their folly shall be made manifest to all men, as was their fathers' before them."²

Whatever things have been foretold are in fulfilment, and now that the end of the world draws nigh they have come to us in trial both of men and times. More and more, through the rage of the adversary, does error lead astray, delusions puff up, envy inflame, covetousness blind, wickedness deprave, anger hurl men headlong down.

XVII. Schismatics must be shunned.

We should not, however, be moved or disturbed by the excessive and abandoned faithlessness of so many, but rather our faith should be strengthened through the true fulfilment of that which was foretold. And, as some men begin to be such as was predicted, so let the rest of the Brethren be on their guard against things of the kind, because they have been predicted, as the Lord instructs us when He says:

¹ praedantur.

² II Tim. iii. 1—9.

"But take heed, for behold I have foretold you all things."¹

Avoid, I beseech you, my brothers, men of this kind, and ward them off from your side, and from your ears ward off dangerous colloquies, as the contagion of death, for it has been written:

"Hedge in thine ears with thorns, and refuse to hear a wicked tongue."²

And again: "Evil conversations³ corrupt good manners."⁴

The Lord teaches us and warns us to hold aloof from such.

"The blind," He says, "are leaders of the blind; but when a blind man leads one who is blind, both fall together into the ditch."⁵

Such a man should be turned away from, and whoever has been separated from the Church must be avoided. A man of this sort has been led astray,⁶ and sins, and has been self-condemned.⁷ Or does he fancy himself to be with Christ—who acts against the Bishops of Christ,⁸ and separates himself from the fellowship of His clergy and people?⁹ That man bears arms against the Church; he girds against the appointment of God. An enemy of the altar, a rebel

¹ Mark xiii. 23.

² Eccles. xxviii. 28. (This is the reading of Latin Versions.)

³ Confabulationes.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 33.

⁵ Matt. xv. 14.

⁶ peruersus est. Cf. Titus iii. 11.

⁷ est a semetipso damnatus. Cf. Titus iii. 11.

⁸ Sacerdotes Christi.

⁹ qui se a cleri Eius et plebis societate secernit. The Verona MS. reads ab Ecclesia Eius et plebe.

against Christ's Sacrifice, a traitor to the Faith, in religion sacrilegious, a disobedient servant, an unfilial son, a hostile brother, holding the Bishops in contempt and forsaking the priests of God,¹ he dares to set up another altar, to offer a different prayer with unauthorized words, by false sacrifices² to profane the truth of the Lord's Sacrifice,³ and does not know that, he who strives against the ordinance of God is, on account of his rash audacity, punished with the punishment of God.

XVIII. The punishments of schismatics in the Old Testament.

Thus Korah and Dathan and Abiram who, in opposition to Moses and Aaron the priest, endeavoured to establish for themselves the right to offer sacrifice, forthwith suffered punishment for their attempts. The earth, breaking its fastenings, disclosed a deep gulf, and the open mouth of the ground, as it gaped, swallowed them up alive as they stood. And it was not only the authors [of the schism] who were struck by the wrath of God in His Anger, but two hundred and fifty others besides, their companions who had joined in their madness, and had mingled and joined with them in their audacious design. A fire came forth from the Lord and destroyed them with speedy vengeance, warning and showing us that whatever the

¹ *Contemptis Episcopis et Dei Sacerdotibus derelictis.* In St. Cyprian, at least ordinarily, *Sacerdos* means Bishop.

² *per falsa sacrificia.*

³ *dominicae hostiae ueritatem.*

wicked do to overturn by the will of man the ordinance of God, that is done against God.¹ Thus also Ozias the King, when he carried the censer, by force, against the Law of God, assuming to himself the [offering of] sacrifice, and was resisted by Azarias the priest, was put to shame by the wrath of God because he refused to obey and give way, and, stained with the spot of leprosy on his forehead, he was marked by the Lord in His anger on that part of the body, where they are signed who deserve the Lord as their Reward.²

Again, the sons of Aaron who placed upon the altar a strange fire which the Lord had not commanded were immediately destroyed in the sight of the Lord who punished them.

XIX. The grievousness of the crime of schism.

These men are assuredly imitated and followed by those who despise the Tradition of God, hanker after strange doctrines and bring in teachings of human authority.³ They are blamed and reprimanded by the Lord in His Gospel, when He says:

“Ye reject the Commandment of God, that ye may establish your own tradition.”⁴

¹ Num. xvi. 25, 35. Cf. Optatus i. 2; vi. 3, etc.

² ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur (cf. II Para. xxvi. 16—19). Cf. St. Jerome in his Preface to the Book of Job: Ego christianus sum et de parentibus christianis natus et vexillum crucis in mea fronte portans.

³ Qui, Dei Traditione contempta, alienas doctrinas appetunt, et magisteria humane institutionis inducunt.

⁴ Reiicitis Mandatum Dei ut traditionem uestram statuatis (cf. Mark vii. 9). Cf. Ep. lxiii. 14.

This is a worse crime than that which the "Lapsed"¹ are known to have fallen into, yet they, standing in penance for their crime, beseech the Lord with works of full satisfaction.² In the one case the Church is yearned after and entreated; in the other the Church is resisted. In the one case there may have been compulsion,³ in the other a will [wholly free]⁴ is engaged in wickedness. He who fell away only did harm to himself;⁵ he who has endeavoured to make a heresy or schism has deceived many by drawing them with him. On the one hand we have the ruin of one soul; on the other hand, danger to a great number. It is beyond doubt that the one man understands that he has sinned, and laments and bewails it; the other, pride in his heart and delighting within himself at his very crimes, separates the children from their mother, entices the sheep from their shepherd, troubles the divine Sacraments.⁶ And whilst he who fell away sinned only once, the other sins every day.

¹ *Lapsi*. Those who had fallen away in the time of persecution, offered incense to idols, or given up the Holy Books and Vessels.

² *Deum plenius satisfactionibus deprecantur*.

³ *Necessitas*. Cf. Ep. lii. 26. In Pseudo-Optatus vii. 1, it is maintained at length that the Traditores were led into sin by *necessitas*. This suggests that threats and violence employed against the Faithful, though not destroying free will, mitigate the malice of the sin of the lapsed. Optatus himself (vi. 4; vii. 6) contrasts *necessitas* with *uoluntas*. "Uirginitas uoluntatis res est non necessitatis," and "homicida, qui nulla necessitate cogente . . . de uoluntate sua fecerit."

⁴ *uoluntas*.

⁵ *qui lapsus est*.

⁶ *Dei sacramenta disturbat*. St. Cyprian's choice of the word *Sacramenta* rather than *Mysteria* was probably intended to show that heretics and schismatics upset *all* Church order.

Lastly, the lapsed, if afterwards¹ he obtains martyrdom, can receive the Promises of the Kingdom, whereas the other if he is slain outside the Church cannot arrive at the rewards belonging to the Church.

XX. The Confessors should be on their guard against so great a crime.

Let no one, my dearest brethren, marvel that even some who have confessed Christ² venture to these lengths—that they commit sins thus wickedly, thus gravely. Having endured persecution for the Faith³ does not make a man immune from the snares of the Devil, nor, whilst he is still living in the world, encompass him with perpetual security against the world's temptations and its dangers, onsets and assaults. Were it so, we should never witness later on in Confessors frauds and immoralities and adulteries, such as now we groan and grieve to see in some. Whoever the Confessor may be, he is not greater, nor better, nor dearer to God than was Solomon—Solomon, who although, so long as he walked in the ways of the Lord, retained the grace which he had received from God, nevertheless, after he abandoned the way of the Lord, lost also the Lord's

¹ postmodum. So all the MSS. It is very curious that Erasmus prints *primitiorem* which is not Latin.

² Confessoribus. Christians who had suffered torments during persecution for the Faith, or were still imprisoned on its account, were called *Confessores*.

³ Confessio,

grace.¹ And on this account has it been written:

"Hold what thou hast, lest another receive thy crown."²

But, assuredly, the Lord would not threaten that the crown of justice³ should be taken away, were it not that when justice departs, the crown must needs depart also.

XXI. The danger is greater after "Confession," because the Enemy has been notably challenged.

The enduring of Persecution is the beginning of Glory, not that which yet deserves the Crown. And since it has been written:

"He who shall persevere to the end, shall be saved,"⁴

whatever takes place before the end is but a step, by which we may climb to the summit of salvation, not the goal where the top of the hill is already gained. Such a one is a Confessor; but after his "Confession" his danger is the greater, inasmuch as the Enemy has received a new challenge. He is a Confessor; but for this reason ought he the more to stand erect in accordance with the Lord's Gospel,⁵ having,

¹ The sixth-century Verona MS., now lost (collated by L. Latini in the sixteenth century), reads here: "As it is written: And the Lord stirred up the adversary [Satan] against Solomon; and therefore in the Apocalypse the Lord solemnly warns John," etc.

² Apoc. iii. 11.

³ Cf. II Tim. iv. 8.

⁴ Matt. x. 22.

⁵ Stare debet cum Domini Euangelio.

through the Gospel,¹ received glory from the Lord. For the Lord says:

“To whom much is given, much is asked of him.”

To whom the higher dignity is allotted, of him is the greater measure of service demanded.² Let no one be lost through the example of a Confessor; let no one learn injustice, no one arrogance, no one faithlessness,³ from the behaviour of a Confessor. He is a Confessor. Let him be humble and quiet, let him be modest and guarded in all his ways, so that he who has the title of Christ's Confessor, may imitate Christ whom he confesses. For inasmuch as Christ says:

“He that exalteth himself shall be humbled, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted,”⁴

and, since Christ Himself has been exalted by the Father—because He, the Word and the Power and the Wisdom of God the Father, humbled Himself upon earth—how can He love pride who has by His Law enjoined humility upon us, and Himself received from the Father a most excellent Name⁵ as the reward of His Humility? That man only is a Confessor of Christ, through whom the Majesty and Dignity of Christ is not afterwards blasphemed. Let not

¹ *Per Euangelium*. Cf. Ep. xxii, Minime consideravit quod non Martyres Euangelium faciunt, sed *per Euangelium* Martyres fiunt; Ep. xxx (Presbyteri et diaconi Romae consistentes ad Cyprianum), “Si non illam [coronam] *de Euangelii conseruatione* inueniantur consecuti unde martyres fiunt”; Ep. xxiii, Euangelium Christi legere unde Martyres fiunt. *De Lapsis*: qui *De Euangelio* Martyres fiunt.

² Cf. Luke xii. 48.

³ perfidiam.

⁴ Luke xviii. 14.

⁵ Amplissimum Nomen.

the tongue which has confessed Christ be given to cursing, let it not be noisy, let it not be heard loud in abuse and wranglings, let it not, after words of praise, cast poisoned darts against the Brethren and Bishops of God. But if after "Confession" it becomes blameworthy and hateful—if any man cast away¹ his "Confession" through evil living, if he stain his life by shameful wickedness, if finally he abandon the Church, in which he became a Confessor, and, tearing in twain the bond of Unity, change his first faith to a later faithlessness,²—he cannot cheat his soul on the score of his "Confession," as though he were chosen for the reward of glory through reason of this very "Confession," since on this ground the tale of his punishments has even been rendered the more weighty.

XXII. The fall of some is of no prejudice to the rest.

The Lord chose even Judas amongst His Apostles. Yet Judas afterwards betrayed the Lord. But the faith and stability of the Apostles did not fail for this reason that the traitor Judas fell away from their fellowship. So, in like manner, the holiness and dignity of Confessors were not forthwith lessened, because some amongst them broke their faith. The Blessed Apostle Paul writes in an Epistle:

"For what if some of them have fallen away from the Faith? Has their faithlessness made the Faith

¹ *prodegerit*. Verona MS. Other MSS. have *prodiderit*.

² *fidem primam perfidia posteriore mutauerit*.

of God of no effect? God forbid. For God is true, though every man be a liar.”¹

The larger and better part of Confessors stands in the strength of its faith and in love of the Lord's Law and Rule. Nor do they depart from the Peace of the Church who bear in mind that, through God's goodness, in the Church they received His grace. From this very fact that they have been separated from the faithlessness² of the others do they receive a further praise for their faith. Having been joined together in enduring persecution, they have withdrawn from the contagion of crime. Enlightened with the shining of the Gospel, illumined with the pure and white light of the Lord, they are as praiseworthy in preserving Christ's Peace, as they were victorious in their encounter with the Evil One.

XXIII. Those who have been led astray should return to Unity.

I desire, assuredly, my most beloved brethren, and I advise and entreat that, so far as may be, none of our brethren may be lost; rather let [our] Mother [the Church], rejoicing, receive in her bosom one body of a people agreeing together. If, however, she be not able to recall to the way of salvation some leaders of schisms and authors of dissension who persist in their dark and obstinate madness—then do you, the rest, who have either been captured through your sim-

¹ Cf. Rom. iii. 3.

² perfidia.

plicity, or led astray in mistake, or deceived by some cunningness of guileful craftiness, release yourselves from the snares of your entanglement, free your wandering steps from errors, recognize the right road of the heavenly way. It is the word of the Apostle who bears witness:

"We charge you," he writes, "in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw from all brethren walking disorderly, and not in accordance with the Tradition which they have received from us."¹

And again he says:

"Let no one deceive you with vain words. For because of these things cometh the Anger of God upon the children of disobedience. Be ye not, therefore, partakers with them."²

We must withdraw from the offenders—nay, more, we must flee from them—lest whilst anyone is joined with those that walk disorderly, and passes along the ways of error and sin, he may wander from the path of the true road and himself be held bound by a like offence.

God is One and Christ One, and One is His Church, and the Faith is One, and One His People welded together by the glue of concord into a solid unity of body. Unity cannot be rent asunder, nor can the One Body, through the division of its structure, be divided into separate pieces—its inward members mangled and wrenched apart—torn into bits. Whatever has departed from the Womb will not be able to live or breathe apart. It loses the substance of health.

¹ II Thess. iii. 6.

² Eph. v. 6.

XXIV. Peace should be loved.

The Holy Ghost warns us, saying:

"Who is the man that desireth life, who would fain see good days? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Turn away from evil and do good, seek Peace and pursue it."¹

The son of Peace ought to seek Peace and to pursue it. He that knows and loves the bond of Charity ought to restrain his tongue from the evil of discord. Amongst our Lord's divine commands and health-giving precepts there is one which He gave us, when, very near to His Passion, He said:

"Peace I leave with you, my Peace I give unto you."²

This He gave us as His Inheritance.³ All the gifts and rewards which He promised, He included in the Promise of the Preservation of Peace. If we are coheirs with Christ, let us abide in Christ's Peace. If we are the sons of God, we ought to be the sons of Peace.⁴

¹ Ps. xxxiii. 13.

² John xiv. 27.

³ Hanc [Pacem] nobis *hereditatem* dedit. St. Optatus no doubt had this passage in his mind when he wrote (i. 1): "Nobis omnibus *itoria* per Apostolos Pacem dereliquit." *Itoria* means a parting gift (cf. Revue Benedic. 1895, xii. 388). The *itoria* of Optatus is the *hereditas* of Cyprian. Optatus quoted not only John xiv. 27, but also Mark xiii. 37, in order to prove that the gift of Peace was an inheritance to the Church for all time. In many passages he expressly identifies the *Peace* of which he writes with the visible Unity of the Catholic Church.

⁴ Pacifici. Optatus (i. 19) and Augustine (De Baptis. con. Don. vii. 54) call Cyprian *Episcopus pacificus* with reference to his union with the Church.

"Blessed," He says, "are the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God."¹

It behoveth the sons of God to be the sons of Peace, gentle of heart, simple in speech, agreeing together with affection, clinging to each other faithfully in the bonds of unanimity.²

XXV. The example of the first Faithful.

Of old, this unanimity existed under the Apostles. Thus the new people of Believers, observing the Commandments of God, preserved their charity. This is proved by the Divine Scripture which says:

"The multitude of them which had believed acted³ with one soul and one mind."

And again: "And they were all of one heart and one mind⁴ persevering in prayer with the women and with Mary the Mother of Jesus and with His Brethren."⁵

Because they were praying with efficacious prayers, for this reason they were able to beg with confidence for whatever they asked of the Mercy of God.

XXVI. How great is our distance from the fervour of the first Faithful.

But in us unanimity has decreased in proportion as the expanse of our good works has also been nar-

¹ Matt. v. 9.

² Unanimitatis.

³ Agebant cf. Acts iv. 32.

⁴ Unanimes.

⁵ Acts i. 14.

rowed. In the beginning they sold their possessions, and—laying up for themselves treasures in Heaven—brought their price to the Apostles, to be distributed for the needs of the poor. But now we do not even give tithes of our patrimony, and though the Lord bids us sell, we rather buy and increase our store. Thus has the vigour of faith been enfeebled in us; thus has the strength of Believers come to languish.

And, therefore, the Lord regarding our times, says in His Gospel:

“Shall the Son of Man find faith on the earth when He comes?”¹

We have seen that come to pass which He foretold. There is no faith left in the Fear of God, in the Law, in Justice, in Love, in good works. No one dwells on fear of the things that are to be; no one calls to mind the Day of the Lord and the Law of the Lord, and the punishments to come upon the unbelieving and the everlasting torments that have been appointed for the faithless.² All which things our inmost man³ would dread, if it believed. Because it entirely disbelieves, therefore it does not dread. If it believed, it would also be on its guard. If it were on its guard, it would also escape. Let us rouse ourselves, my most beloved Brethren, as much as we may, and, having cast away the sleep of our old slothfulness, be on the watch to observe and keep the Lord's Commandments. Let us be such as He Himself commanded us when He said:

“Let your loins be girt, and have lamps alight in

¹ Luke xviii. 8.

³ conscientia nostra.

² perfidis.

your hands, and be ye like to men who are awaiting their Lord, when He cometh back from His Nuptials, that when He come and knock they may open unto Him. Blessed are those servants whom their Lord shall find watching when He come.”¹

We must needs be girt, lest when the day of departure arrive, it may find us hampered and entangled. Our light should shine and be bright in good works, so that it may lead us from the night of this world to the brightness of the everlasting sunshine.² Let us ever be on our guard and, watching, look for the sudden coming of the Lord, so that when He knock, our faith may be awake, ready to receive from the Lord the reward of watchfulness. If we cleave to these Commandments, if we hold fast these warnings and precepts, it will not be possible for us to sleep and be destroyed through the craft of the devil. We, His servants who watch, shall reign when the Lord Christ rules.

¹ Luke xii. 35.

² claritatis aeternae.

APPENDED NOTE A

THE "INTERPOLATIONS"

The question of the supposed "interpolations" in the fourth chapter of the *De Unitate* is exceedingly complicated. Many non-Catholic controversialists have in the past, before the conditions of the problem had been made clear, bitterly denounced them as having been fraudulently inserted in the text of St. Cyprian "in the interests of Ultramontaniam."¹ It is, however, very doubtful whether they are interpolations at all. Furthermore, it has at length become clear that, on no hypothesis which will bear examination in light of the now generally acknowledged facts, could they have been interpolated in support of the Papal Chair. This conclusion follows inexorably not only from their admittedly early date, but also from the fact that any such interpolations would at any time have been wholly unnecessary. Mr. Lacey sees this and remarks:

"Why this text B. [the text containing the "interpolations"] should have been attacked as a deliberate falsification, I cannot understand. If anyone so altered the text of St. Cyprian for the purpose of maintaining the cause of the Papacy, he did the work very negligently."²

Also I shall have no difficulty in showing that every passage in the "interpolations" can be paralleled from the undoubtedly genuine works of St. Cyprian.

I will in the first place present for my readers' consideration the three texts of the disputed passage.

(A) The text accepted by Hartel, to be found in Codices S.V.W.J. and most others.

(B) The text to be found in Codices M. Q. Bod. 3 (and very nearly in T. Bod. 4 and H.).

¹ Cf. Archbp. Benson's *Cyprian*, pp. 200—221.

² Catholicity, p. 123.

(C) The conflation of these two texts to be found in h. Pem. Bol. 78.

A.

Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum: *Ego tibi dico*, inquit, *quia tu es Petrus*¹ etc. Super unum aedificat Ecclesiam, et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post Resurrectionem Suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat *sicut misit Me Pater et Ego mitto vos*² etc.; tamen, ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis eiusdem originem ab uno incipientem Sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et ceteri Apostoli quod fuit et Petrus, pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate profiscitur ut Ecclesia Christi una monstretur, quam unam Ecclesiam etiam in Canticum Canticorum Spiritus Sanctus ex Persona Domini designat et dicit: *Una est columba mea*,³ etc. Hanc Ecclesiae unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se Fidem credit? Qui Ecclesiae renititur et resistit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit? Quando et Beatus Apostolus Paulus hoc idem doceat et Sacramentum Unitatis ostendat, dicens: "*Unum Corpus et unus Spiritus*" etc.⁴

B.

Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum: *Ego tibi dico*, inquit, *quia tu es Petrus*⁵ etc. Et iterum eidem post Resurrectionem Suam dicit: *Pasce oves Meas*:⁶ Super illum unum aedificat Ecclesiam et illi pascendas oves mandat Suas. Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus parem tribuat Potestatem, unam tamen Cathedram constituit et unitatis originem atque rationem Sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et ceteri quod Petrus, sed Primatus Petro datur, ut una Ecclesia et Cathedra una monstretur. Et pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur. Hanc et Pauli⁷ unitatem qui non tenet tenere se Fidem credit? Qui Cathedram Petri super quam fundata est Ecclesia deserit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit? . . .⁸ Quando et Beatus Apostolus Paulus hoc idem doceat et Sacramentum Unitatis ostendat, dicens: "*Unum Corpus et unus Spiritus*" etc.

¹ Matt. xvi. 18.

⁴ Eph. iv. 4.

² John xx. 21.

⁵ Matt. xvi. 18.

³ Cant. vi. 8.

⁶ John xxi. 15.

⁷ Some MSS. have *Ecclesiae*.

⁸ Here in the MSS. collated by Hartel is repeated *super quam aedificavit Ecclesiam . . . confidit*.

C.

Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum: *Ego tibi dico*, inquit, *quia tu es Petrus*¹ etc. Et iterum eidem post Resurrectionem Suam dicit: *Pasce oves Meas*.² Super illum unum aedificat Ecclesiam Suam et illi pascendas mandat oves suas. Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post Resurrectionem Suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat: Sicut misit Me Pater et Ego mitto vos³ etc, tamen ut Unitatem manifestaret, unam Cathedram constituit et Unitatis eiusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et ceteri Apostoli quod fuit et Petrus, pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab Unitate profiscitur, et Primatus Petro datur, ut Ecclesia Christi una et Cathedra una monstretur. Et pastores sunt omnes et grex unus ostenditur, qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur. Quam unam Ecclesiam etiam in Cantico Canticorum, Spiritus Sanctus ex Persona Domini designat et dicit: *Una est columba Mea*⁴ etc. Hanc Ecclesiae Unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se Fidem credit? Qui Ecclesiae renititur et resistit, qui Cathedram Petri, super quam fundata est Ecclesia, deserit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit? Quando et Beatus Apostolus Paulus hoc idem doceat et Sacramentum Unitatis ostendat, dicens: "*Unum Corpus et unus Spiritus*"⁵ etc.

I have already translated A. in the text (pp. 27, 28). It will, therefore, suffice here to translate B.

"The Lord speaks to Peter. '*I say to thee*,' He says, '*that thou art Peter and upon this Rock I will build My Church and the gates of Hell shall not overcome it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven.*' And again to him also He says after His Resurrection: '*Feed My Sheep.*' Upon him alone He builds His Church, and to him He commits His Sheep to be fed. And although to all the Apostles He gives a like Power, yet He made One Chair and provided for the source and principle of Unity by His Authority. Surely, the rest too were what Peter was. But the Primacy was given to Peter, that

¹ Matt. xvi. 18.

³ John xx. 21.

⁵ Eph. iv. 4.

² John xxi. 17.

⁴ Cant. vi. 8.

One Church and One Chair might be shown. And all are pastors, but One flock is pointed out, to be fed by all the Apostles with unanimous consent. Does he who holds not the Unity of the Church¹ believe that he holds the Faith? He who deserts the Chair of Peter upon whom [or *upon which*] the Church was built, does he trust that he is in the Church?"

C. contains the whole of A. and B., and not a word that is not to be found either in A. or B.

Now that we have A. and B. before us in Latin and English the way is clear to consider what is known of their history. It is generally believed that St. Cyprian first wrote the Treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiae* as an antidote to the schism which had sprung up in his own Church of Carthage, under one Felicissimus, a schism which of course was levelled directly against his own authority. If so, it seems probable that A. gives us the original form of this passage. But another schism had broken out at Rome itself under a certain Novatian against Pope Cornelius—Novatian constituting himself an Anti-Pope. This schism soon became also a heresy—the heresy known as Novatianism.

A copy of the Treatise *De Unitate* was sent by St. Cyprian himself to Rome (Dom John Chapman thinks under cover to Cornelius by Mettius the Subdeacon, with Epistles xlv, xlv, and xlvii). Father Chapman in three very learned articles in the *Revue Benedictine*² seems to have established that B. was the copy sent to Rome, and to have made it at least exceedingly probable that the changes from A. were made by St. Cyprian himself, to suit the special case of a schism at Rome. Harnack, Von Soden and other impartial scholars think that he has established his point. Batiffol agrees as to the Cyprianic origin of B., though he considers that it was the original, and that St. Cyprian afterwards altered it to A. in order

¹ *Ecclesiae*. The reading *et Pauli* to be found in some MSS. has evidently slipped in by mistake from A.

² For July and October, 1902, and January, 1903. See also *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1902.

to give it a more general application.¹ And Mr. Lacey writes that: "It is at least possible that both (A. and B.) are Cyprian's, being drawn from two editions of the work issued by him."

Mr. Denny indeed writes: "On the whole, though with great diffidence, I am inclined to the opinion that the "interpolations" are not genuine—*i.e.*, not the work of St. Cyprian himself, and in that case that possibly they were framed with a view to the Donatist intrusion at Rome."² Mr. Denny gives no reason for this view, though he goes so far as to fix a supposititious date, the year 330, "when probably the first Donatist intruder into the See of Rome—Victor Garbensis—established himself at Rome."³

However this may be, it is quite clear that no one can, with any plausibility or fairness, attack "Ultramon-tanes" (a nickname not invented until the seventeenth century) for a version of St. Cyprian's argument which some of the highest critical scholars believe to have been St. Cyprian's own, and which is almost certainly no later than the fourth century.⁴

We may now consider C. It has been most bitterly attacked, but for my part it would seem a most proper thing—granted the existence of two versions of the same argument, both by St. Cyprian, or at least both believed to have been by St. Cyprian—to throw them together as a connected whole. What was there to hinder one of Cyprian's disciples, enthusiastic for all which he believed to have fallen from the master's pen and unwilling that

¹ *L'Eglise Naissante* (English Translation, under the title of *Primitive Catholicism*, p. 375).

² *Papalism*, 1246, p. 662.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ "Five Priests of the Province of Canterbury" in their pamphlet entitled *Bishop Gore's Claims* (The Society of SS. Peter and Paul), state the facts accurately when they write (p. 16, footnote): "The genuineness of the italicized words [the "interpolations"] is doubted by many writers, both Catholic and Protestant, and is upheld by certain writers, both Protestant and Catholic."

posterity should lose either A. or B., from preserving them both in the form of C.? We must remember that for several centuries after his martyrdom all Catholics in Africa cherished not only the name of Cyprian, but also every sentence which he had written.

In any case I think that the labours of Father Chapman have caused references to "these interpolations forged by unscrupulous men in the interests of Ultramontanism," and the like, of which so much used to be heard some forty years ago, practically to cease. Thus it is a significant sign that Dr. Gore tells us in his Preface to the Tenth Edition of his *Roman Catholic Claims* that, in deference to Father Chapman's argument, he has "obliterated" the passage which was to be found in his previous Editions speaking of "Interpolations in St. Cyprian."¹

Apart altogether from the critical history of B. it is hard to understand how these offensive charges of forgery and bad faith can ever have been made—as they were made persistently—against Catholics. On the one hand, every instructed Catholic will regard, and would always have regarded, the statements in A. as absolutely

¹ I regret, however, that I feel obliged to point out that Mr. Denny (in this following the early Editions of Dr. Gore's work) alleges—evidently as a reproach—that "these interpolations (the passages to be found only in B.) . . . are printed in the Edition of the *De Unitate* by Prof. Hurter, S.J." (see *Papalism*, No. 1245, p. 659). In a footnote Mr. Denny gives us a reference to a page in Fr. Hurter's book as the authority for his statement, to which he thinks it worth while to call attention in his Index. But when we look at the page in question we find that Fr. Hurter—not content with having explained at length in a footnote on the previous two pages that these passages are doubtfully Cyprianic (in this we have seen that Mr. Denny fully agrees with him)—*adopts the same method of "printing" them as does Mr. Denny himself—that is marking them off in brackets from the passages to be found in A.* (see Denny, No. 570, pp. 274, 275, and Hurter, *Sanctorum Patrum Opuscula Selecta*, Vol. I., pp. 70—73). In other words, if Fr. Hurter "prints" them so does Mr. Denny and with no greater caution. Truly, any stick is good

adequate for their purpose and satisfactory to the Catholic sense; on the other hand there is no statement in B. which is not to be found in the undoubtedly genuine works of St. Cyprian.¹

This can be easily shown:

The following are the passages to be found in B. but not in A.

- (a) Et iterum eidem post Resurrectionem Suam dicit: *Pasce oves Meas.*
- (β) Et illi pascendas mandat oves Suas.
- (γ) Unam Cathedram constituit,
- (δ) atque rationem [Unitatis].²
- (ε) Primatus Petro datur.
- (ζ) Cathedra Una.
- (θ) Et pastores sunt omnes et grex unus ostenditur, qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur.
- (ι) Qui Cathedram Petri, super quem (or quam), fundata est Ecclesia, deserit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit?

No one will raise any difficulty about the statements of fact and doctrine contained in (α) (β) (δ)² and (θ)³.

enough with which to chastise a Jesuit and an Ultramontane. But this is neither fair controversy, nor even honourable dealing between man and man.

¹ If C. be "an Ultramontane forgery" why did the Ultramontane forger insert "*Apostoli pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis.*" These words are not to be found in B. They are declared by Mr. Denny (No. 858, p. 453) to be "words of vital importance" in his argument against "Papalism." If so, it seems strange that an Ultramontane forger intent upon propping up this "Papalism" should have inserted them gratuitously. On the words themselves see my next appended note.

² In (δ) the words *atque rationem* are added to *unitatis originem*. This reminds us of St. Cyprian's undoubted "*Una Ecclesia a Christo Domino nostro super Petrum, origine unitatis et ratione fundata*" (Ep. lxx. 3).

³ In (θ) we find *unanimi consensione*. It may perhaps be worth while to note that *unanimis* is a word to which St. Cyprian is much addicted. We find *unanimis* and *unanimitas* four times in chaps.

There remain the following.

- I. There is *One Cathedra* or Chair (γ & ζ).
- II. The Church was *built on Peter* (ι).
- III. The *Primacy* was given to Peter (ε).
- IV. A man who deserts the Chair of Peter can hardly trust that he is in the Church of Christ (ι)

I. *There is One Cathedra or Chair.* With this we may compare similar words in *Ep.* xl (al. xliii) 5. "Deus unus est, Christus unus, et una Ecclesia, et *Cathedra una* super Petrum¹ Domini uoce fundata." "There is One God and One Christ, and there is One Church and *One Chair*, founded by the voice of the Lord upon Peter." St. Optatus, who was steeped in the writings of St. Cyprian, in the course of four lines calls the *Cathedra*, on which he tells us that Peter sat first and then the other Bishops of Rome—whose names he gives down to his own day—*quae unica Cathedra, singularis Cathedra, and Cathedra unica*. This is undoubtedly Cyprianic doctrine.

II. *The Church was built on Peter.* Father Chapman writes: "We find St. Cyprian almost each time he mentions St. Peter calling him 'Peter upon whom the Church is built.'"² This will not be, for it cannot be, disputed.³ Hartel's reading in (ι) (*super quam* not *quem*) makes St. Cyprian say that the Church was built upon the *Cathedra Petri*. I do not, however, think that *quam* can be the true reading here, for this mystical transference from St. Peter to his See is not to be found elsewhere in St. Cyprian, though we find it in St. Augustine: "Number the Bishops from the very See of Peter, and in that order of Fathers see who succeeded whom. *This See is the*

viii. and ix., and five times in the last three chapters, of the *De Unitate*.

¹ Another reading is *petram*.

² *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims*, p. 54.

³ Cf. *Ep.* xliii ; lix. 7 ; lxvi. 8 ; lxx ; lxxi ; lxxiii. 7 ; *De Hab. Virg.* 10 ; *Ad Fort.* xi.

Rock against which the gates of Hell do not prevail";¹ and in St. Jerome, writing to the Pope of the time: "I am in communion with your Blessedness, that is with the *Chair of Peter*. *On that Rock I know that the Church was built.*"²

III. *The Primacy was given to Peter.* If the Church was built upon St. Peter—a truth which, as we have just seen, St. Cyprian was never tired of urging—then it would seem to be an obvious deduction from this fact alone that upon Peter was *thereby* bestowed the Primacy. Otherwise the figure of the building and its rock-foundation would lose its whole point. As a building depends upon that upon which it is built, so those who are built upon another depend upon him upon whom they are built.³ In other words he possesses a Primacy over them. So we find that Cyprian, when referring to St. Peter as "teaching in the Name of the Church" and "with the voice of the Church," connects this fact with the other fact that it was St. Peter, upon whom it had been appointed that the Church was to be built.⁴

Moreover, St. Cyprian does not fail to remind his readers that St. Peter received the Keys. He terms them "the Keys of the Church." He writes: "The Church is one and was founded upon one, who also received the Keys of it, by the Voice of the Lord."⁵ Now it will not

¹ *Ps. c. partes Don.* Str. 18.

² Ep. xv.

³ St. Peter, in his capacity of a member of the Church is, of course, built, like the rest, upon our Lord Jesus Christ. In his capacity of Foundation-Stone, expressly joined to Himself in this capacity by the great Builder of the Church, he is, what Christ calls him, the Rock upon which the Church is built.

⁴ "Et Dominus quoque in Euangelio, cum Eum loquentem discipuli derelinquerent, conuersus ad Duodecim dixit: "Numquid et uos uultis ire?" Respondit Ei Petrus dicens . . . Loquitur illic Petrus, *super quem aedificanda fuerat Ecclesia, Ecclesiae Nomine docens et ostendens,*" etc. (Ep. lxi. (al lxvi) 8). "Petrus, *super quem aedificata ab eodem Domino fuerat Ecclesia, unus pro omnibus loquens et Ecclesiae uoce respondens,*" etc. (Ep. lv. (al lix) 7).

⁵ Ep. lxxiii. 11.

be disputed that one upon whom not only the Church was founded, but who also received the Church's Keys, was thereby given the Primacy in that Church.

But we have more than mere inferences however cogent.

In his undisputed writings St. Cyprian uses the word *primatus* (derived from *primus*) twice, and the word *principalis* (derived from *princeps*) once—as applied to the *Cathedra Petri*.

(a) He writes:¹ “Nor did Peter, whom the Lord chose as the First,² and upon whom He built His Church, when afterwards Paul disputed with him about the Circumcision, defend his claims rudely,³ or proudly assert that he held the Primacy,”⁴ etc.

(b) St. Cyprian writes that the See of Rome is “the Chair of Peter, the primatial Church, from which the unity of the Episcopate had its origin.”⁵ In this he goes further than anywhere in the “Interpolations,” for he assumes that the Primacy was not only given to Peter,

¹ Ep. lxxi. 3. St. Cyprian is the first of the Fathers to use the word *Cathedra*.

² Quem *Primum* Dominus elegit. Mr. Denny translates: “whom first the Lord chose,” adding: “St. Peter would thus hold a position of seniority amongst the Apostles.” Unfortunately for this translation, the Lord chose first amongst the Apostles not Peter but Andrew. Mr. Denny, however, nothing daunted, writes boldly: “St. Cyprian’s meaning is clear . . . [here] is plainly an allusion to his idea that the Apostolate was first bestowed upon Peter,” etc. It seems to me quite clear, on the other hand, that the simple words “whom the Lord chose as the First” (*Primum elegit*), with its immediate reference to his *Primatus*, refer to Matt. x. 2. “And the names of the Twelve Apostles are these. *The First*, Simon, who is called Peter.”

³ Uindicauit sibi insolenter.

⁴ Ut diceret se *Primatum tenere*. *Primatus* of course refers back to *Primum*. St. Cyprian says that St. Peter had the Primacy, though he did not wish to assert it against St. Paul.

⁵ Post ista ad hunc insuper pseudoepiscopo sibi ad haereticis constituto, nauigare audent et ad *Petri Cathedram atque ad Ecclesiam principalem*, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et profanis literas ferre, nec cogitare eos esse Romanos, quorum Fides Apostolo praedicante laudata est (Rom. i. 8) ad quos *pérfidia habere non possit accessum*. Ep. lv. (al lix) 14.

but remained in his See of Rome. And if it be urged that the word *principalis* is not the word *primatus*, it can be replied that St. Cyprian uses *primatus* itself with reference to the pretensions of Novatian the Anti-Pope.

(c) With regard to Novatian and his followers St. Cyprian tells us that "they endeavoured, as rebels against the Peace and Unity of the Church, to set up a Cathedra for themselves and to *assume the Primacy*,¹ and to claim freedom to baptize and offer Sacrifice." In another letter St. Cyprian writes that Novatian "sent his new Apostles through very many countries," and ventured to make in place of the Catholic Bishops other false Bishops, "as if he were able obstinately to go through *the whole world* in his new attempt."² In other words, Novatian, claiming to be Bishop of Rome, claimed an œcumenical jurisdiction, a claim such as we never once in ecclesiastical history read of having been asserted, save by a Pope or an Anti-Pope. It is clear that Novatian had a sufficiently comprehensive idea of what was involved in the *Primatus* attached to the See of Peter.

IV. *A man who deserts the Chair of Peter can hardly trust that he is in the Church of Christ.*³ It may be admitted that we do not find this statement expressly and *totidem verbis* elsewhere in St. Cyprian. It is true that St. Cyprian does not write, as does his disciple St. Optatus, that the whole Catholic world is in communion with the Pope of the time,⁴ but St. Cyprian does write

¹ Ep. lxi. 8. *Assumere Primatum*. Mr. Denny is driven to write "assuming the Primacy, *i.e.*, the Episcopate [!] for so that word must be translated here as the argument is entirely concerned with the legitimacy of the Episcopate of Novatian." Mr. Denny may be safely challenged to produce any passage where *Primatus* means "the Episcopate."

² Ep. lii. (al lv) 24.

³ Dr. Benson (*Cyprian*, p. 203) writes on the words *He who deserts the Chair of Peter, etc.*: "These words must be from the pen of one who taught the cardinal doctrine of the Roman See. If Cyprian wrote them he held that doctrine. There is no disguising the fact."

⁴ ii. 3.

that "the whole number of Catholic Bishops throughout the world agree in recognizing Cornelius as Bishop of Rome";¹ it is true that St. Cyprian does not say expressly with St. Optatus that they who fight against the *Cathedra Petri* do so sacrilegiously,² or that even an Apostle would be a schismatic and a sinner if he set up another Chair against the one Chair of Peter,³ but St. Cyprian does write that he who communicates with Cornelius Bishop of Rome, communicates with the Catholic Church.⁴ St. Cyprian also writes to a certain Florentius Pupianus that he "ought to know" that "anyone

¹ *coepiscoporum testimonio, quorum numerus uniuersus per totum mundum* concordi unanimitate consensit, Ep. lii. (al lv) 8.

² *contra Cathedram Petri uestris praesumptionibus et audaci sacrilegio militatis.* Opt. ii. 5.

³ In qua una *Cathedra* unitas ab omnibus seruaretur, ne ceteri Apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent, ut *iam scismaticus* et peccator esset, qui contra singularem *Cathedram* alteram conlocaret. Opt. ii. 2.

⁴ Ut sciret te secum (cum Cornelio) *hoc est* cum Catholica Ecclesia communicare (Ep. lii. (al lv) 1). It has been argued that St. Cyprian's argument here is that Cornelius was the true Bishop of Rome, and that therefore anyone who communicated with him communicated with the Catholic Church, and that this is also true of communion with any Catholic Bishop. For example, any Englishman in Catholic days who was in communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury, knew thereby that he was in communion with the Catholic Church. This is no doubt axiomatic, still it remains the case that "*secum, hoc est cum Catholica Ecclesia*" is a very striking and significant phrase. It could hardly be written of the Bishop of any See excepting the See of Rome that anyone "who communicated with him, *that is* communicated with the Catholic Church." The Chair Augustine first set up at Canterbury was a very great Chair, but not so great as the Chair which Peter first set up at Rome. Unhappily the Church of Canterbury could fall away into heresy and schism, but of the Roman Church Cyprian has written that to it "faithlessness—the denial of the true faith—cannot have access" (Ep. lv. 14). It is true to-day as it was true in the days of Cyprian, that he who is in communion with him who sits "in the place of

who is not with the Bishop is not in the Church.”¹ If this is true of communion with any Catholic Bishop it is true *per eminentiam* of communion with the Bishop who sits on the *Cathedra Petri*. Consequently, after Cornelius had been canonically elected into the place of Fabian—the Pope who immediately preceded him—we are not surprised to find St. Cyprian, having duly reminded his readers that “the place of Fabian is the place of Peter,” going on to say that any Bishop—“whoever he may be”—that opposes him is “of necessity outside the Church.”²

With these quotations from his admittedly genuine works before our eyes, the question as to whether St. Cyprian actually wrote what are known as the “Interpolations” becomes merely of academic interest. No one would nowadays endorse the opinions of Archbishop Benson with regard to “the value of the Protestant conviction that, although all Cyprian would have to be read by the light of these phrases [the “interpolations”] if they could be saved, Cyprian without them is an irrefragable witness against those assumptions [of the *Cathedra Petri*].”³ For the most part these “Interpolations” are to be found word for word in St. Cyprian’s letters; they all are undoubtedly according to his mind, as expressed in his admittedly genuine writings.

Peter,” has the highest certainty that is attainable on earth, that he is in communion with the Catholic Church. He is in communion with Pius (as his fathers were in communion with Cornelius), “that is, with the Catholic Church.”

¹ Scire debes . . . si quis cum Episcopo non sit, in Ecclesia non esse. Ep. lxix. (al lxvi) 8.

² “Cum Fabiani locus, *id est, cum locus Petri* et gradus Cathedrae sacerdotalis uacaret; quo occupato . . . quisquis iam Episcopus fieri voluerit, *foris fiat necesse est*, nec habeat ecclesiasticam ordinationem, *qui Ecclesiae non tenet unitatem*. Quisquis ille fuerit, multum de se licet iactans et sibi plurimum vindicans, *profanus est, alienus est, foris est*.” Ep. lii. (al lv) 8. With these last words we may compare St. Jerome’s “Whosoever shall eat the Lamb outside that House [he is referring to the *Cathedra Petri*, which he has just mentioned] is profane” (Ep. xv).

³ *Op. cit.* p. 204.

APPENDED NOTE B

“EPISCOPATUS UNUS EST, CUIUS A SINGULIS IN SOLIDUM PARS TENETUR”

This somewhat difficult sentence is a favourite one with Anglican controversialists. They are accustomed to set up, over against the Catholic teaching that the Church is governed by the Pope and other Catholic Bishops, succeeding to “Peter and the Apostles,” a quite different theory which they call “the Cyprianic view.” Mr. Denny, for example, translates “Episcopatus est unus, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur,” “The Episcopate is one; *it is a whole in which each enjoys full possession.*”¹ I venture to think that the words which I have italicized cannot be fairly got out of the Latin.² Mr. Denny proceeds, “Or, as Archbishop Benson expresses the meaning of the passage, the authority of the Episcopate is held by each Bishop as ‘a tenure upon a totality like that of a shareholder in some joint property,’ St. Cyprian here making use of the legal phrase ‘*in solidum*, which signifies that every part of the one Episcopacy is so committed to every single Bishop that he is nevertheless charged with taking care of the whole.’”

In accordance with this view it would seem convenient to translate *in solidum*, in joint tenure.

When confronted with this proposition “Each Bishop holds the Episcopate in joint tenure,” one naturally asks

¹ *Papalism* 36.

² In this, it is fair to say that Mr. Denny is following the translation in *The Library of the Fathers*; *The Ante-Nicene Library* gives us: “The Episcopate is one each part of which is held by each one for the whole.”

what exactly is meant by the English sentence, and what exactly is St. Cyprian understood to have meant by his original statement? If it be understood in the sense that every Bishop has a right to interfere in the Government of every other Bishop's See, this is obviously untrue and never has been held by anyone. If it be suggested that no Bishop can teach authoritatively, unless all Bishops teach conjointly with him, this most certainly is neither stated nor suggested by St. Cyprian. It would have been rejected by him at once and is quite foreign to his mind and practice. If it be meant merely that every Bishop shares the one Episcopate and consequently has a right to teach together with his Brother Bishops, this is Catholic doctrine and custom. From early times there have been Councils of Bishops, local and œcumenical, who have taught in common. It should be admitted that it is impossible to be certain as to what St. Cyprian meant *precisely* by *in solidum*. The phrase is familiar to us in Canon Law (it is derived from Roman Law) where it is used usually in the sense that A. and B. are answerable for a sum and each is bound to pay the whole, if the other fails to do so. Possibly St. Cyprian means that each Bishop must stick as by glue¹ to his Brother Bishops and stand by them to reject false doctrine, but he need not mean more than that the whole Episcopate is One Body and that no division in the Church is possible.²

If, then, apart from any prepossessions, we come back to the words of St. Cyprian, they may, it seems to me, be simply translated "The Episcopate is One, which is held by each Bishop jointly and severally," that is as members of one body. *In this sense* we may safely render *in solidum* "in joint tenure," just as it might be said "The Catholic Faith is one, and it is held by all Catholics in joint tenure." Every Catholic is bound to keep the Faith, as an individual; every Catholic is also bound to remember his responsibility towards the whole body of

¹ Cf. *De Unitate* Cap. xxiii *ad fin.*

² Cf. Ep. lii. 24.

the Church—towards his fellow-Catholics. He cannot lawfully isolate himself from his rights and duties towards the rest. Still more is this true of Bishops, who are, by divine appointment, teachers of the Church. Thus in the immediate context St. Cyprian writes “a unity which we ought firmly to hold and defend—*especially we Bishops*.” Every Diocesan Bishop (and St. Cyprian is writing here only of Diocesan Bishops) has his own personal and inalienable responsibility towards his own Diocese; but every Bishop has also a responsibility towards “the One Episcopate” of which he is a member. That One Episcopate certainly is held by all Catholic Bishops “in joint tenure” in this sense of the phrase.

These words of St. Cyprian seem to me a slender foundation on which to build a superstructure which is to be the rival of the Apostolic See.

Moreover, it is manifest that the theory of Christians being taught authoritatively only by the collective Episcopate, whatever we may think of it as a theory, is something which, on Anglican opinions as to what constitutes “the Church,” it would be manifestly impossible to reduce to practice; for those whom Anglicans assert to be the “joint tenants” are, notoriously, in hopeless disagreement concerning the nature of the doctrinal inheritance which they have inherited from Christ. This fact, however, need neither disturb nor detain us, for the theory which it destroys is neither the Faith of the Church, nor the teaching of St. Cyprian. It is merely the “view” of a handful of *doctrinaires* with an anti-Papal axe to grind, who have read it into St. Cyprian’s words, and then are pleased to label it “Cyprianic.”

APPENDED NOTE C

“HOC ERANT UTIQUE ET CETERI
APOSTOLI QUOD FUIT ET PETRUS
PARI CONSORTIO PRAEDITI ET
HONORIS ET POTESTATIS ”

These words are often quoted by Anti-Catholic controversialists as though St. Cyprian had said that the Apostles were all made equal in honour and power by our Lord's commission, and as though they denied that St. Peter had received any special prerogative.

It may be well for the sake of clearness, to recapitulate St. Cyprian's argument in this chapter.

(1) He tells us first that there is no need for a long treatise and many arguments. It can all be summed up very briefly.

(2) His second step is to quote our Lord's words to St. Peter: “Thou art Peter; I will give unto thee the Keys. Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven.”

(3) Immediately follows the comment which expresses St. Cyprian's own faith. “Upon One He builds His Church.”

(4) Then comes the objection: “*Although* it is true that after His Resurrection He gives to all His Apostles a like (*parem*)¹ power and says: ‘As the Father hath sent me, so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven him.’

¹ *Parem* is more faithfully translated by *like* than by *equal*. For the difference between *par* and *aequale* we may compare St. Augustine writing of the grace of Baptism by whomsoever conferred: “*unum et par et aequale est quod acceperunt*” (Tract VI in S. Joan). I have, however, no wish to press this.

(5) "*Still* (tamen) [here we have St. Cyprian's answer to the objection] to show forth Unity by His own Authority he arranged that the origin of this Unity should begin from One."

(6) "*No doubt* (utique) [here is the objection again] the other Apostles too were that which Peter was, endowed with a like fellowship both of office [this is Dr. Bright's translation of *honoris*] and of power."

(7) "*But* (sed) [here the answer is once more introduced] the beginning commences from Unity, so that it may be shewn that the Church of Christ is One."

This is the whole passage (as we find it in A. without the "Interpolations.")

It seems to me all to speak for itself. So far from its being the case that St. Cyprian is denying any prerogative of Peter, he is insisting on the chief of Peter's prerogatives—on the fact that the Church of Christ is built on him *alone*. Dealing with the possible and obvious objections that the other Apostles too received after the Resurrection a *like* power to that of Peter when it was said of him: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven," and secondly that "all the Apostles were what Peter was, endowed with a like fellowship of office and power," St. Cyprian is content with re-stating the fact that, though this is so, still (*tamen, sed*) the Church *was* built upon Peter as upon One, in order to show forth the Unity of the Church.

This could not possibly be a difficulty to Catholics, unless they failed to believe that the Apostles were endowed with a like fellowship of office and power. But every Catholic believes that this is so. We believe that all the Apostles received from Jesus Christ the power to forgive sins, together with universal jurisdiction, and the gift of infallibility in teaching. In other words, we believe that all the Apostles received from Christ *the plenitude* of the Apostolate, a like office and power to that of Peter, upon whom the Church was built. St. Peter was not one kind of Apostle and St. Thomas or St. Thaddeus another. There is only one kind of Apostle of

Christ. But this does not prevent certain differences. It does not prevent, for example, St. John being the Apostle whom Jesus loved with a special love, or St. Paul being the Apostle of the Gentiles, or St. Peter being the first—"the rock upon whom the Church was built, as upon One."

In this passage St. Cyprian is not concerned with the *privilegium* of St. Peter, excepting so far as it is an easy proof of that with which he *is* directly concerned—the Unity of the Church. But assuredly his words about "the other Apostles" will afford no difficulty to instructed Catholics.

Mr. Denny, indeed, thinks otherwise, and in his summary of this passage represents St. Cyprian as stating that: "No prerogatives or powers other than Apostolic were then [*i.e.*, at Caesarea Philippi, when our Lord said: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church,' and 'I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven'] granted to St. Peter, because after His Resurrection Christ assigned 'an equal share both of office and power' to 'all the Apostles,' which power was the supreme authority in the Church being conferred by the words: 'As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.'"¹

Thus Mr. Denny. But, as anyone can see who will read St. Cyprian for himself, thus not St. Cyprian.

Whatever may be Mr. Denny's own private opinions concerning the Petrine prerogative, he will not, I think, insist, when he reflects, on maintaining that St. Cyprian asserted either in this passage in the *De Unitate* (to which he refers in his text), or elsewhere, that our Lord "granted to St. Peter no prerogatives or powers other than Apostolic"; since, when he looks again it will stare him in the face that St. Cyprian asserts nothing of the kind, but rather the direct opposite. For St. Cyprian does say that "Upon *One* did He build His Church," and that One is Simon Peter. To take an illustration from

¹ *Papalism* (p. 276, par. 571).

our British Constitution, all Privy Councillors, *qua Privy Councillors*, may be granted by the Crown "like office and power"; but this is without prejudice to the special prerogatives and headship of one of their number—*e.g.*, the Prime Minister. St. Cyprian is urging this simple truth that like (or "equal") office and power in one capacity does not derogate from a special prerogative; he is writing in answer to any person who might object to his argument for the Unity of the Church, drawn from the fact that the Church was built by Christ upon One—upon Peter. It seems rather perverse so to twist his words as to make them mean the exact opposite of what he was precisely affirming.¹ Anti-Papal controversialists maintain in effect that Cyprian is derogating from the force of his predetermining words: "There is no need of long arguments. The Lord speaks to Peter. 'I say to thee that thou art Peter and upon this Rock I will build My Church' . . . Upon One He builds His Church"; whereas an inspection of the text shows that he is bent on enforcing them. "Upon One He builds His Church" is the key-sentence of the passage.

Nor does St. Cyprian inform us, as Mr. Denny ventures to suggest, that "the power like to that of St. Peter" which the Apostles all received from Christ was "*the supreme authority in the Church.*" There is no doubt a sense, in which this assertion is perfectly true, but it is not the assertion of St. Cyprian, notwithstanding the fact that it has been fathered upon him by Mr. Denny.

If any of my readers should embark upon the study of Mr. Denny's volume, I would say to him most ur-

¹ If it should be insisted that *par* should be translated *equal*, so be it. St. Jerome's vehement "Papalism" (cf. his fifteenth and sixteenth letters) did not prevent him from stating—what might sound paradoxical, but is Catholic doctrine—that the Bishop of Eugubium in the possession of the episcopal character was the equal of the Bishop of Rome. The Bishop of Rome writes to his fellow-bishops throughout the Catholic world as to his *Uenerabiles Fratres*. St. Cyprian in his letters calls them the Bishop of Rome's *co-sacerdotes*.

gently: "Whatever you do, verify the references, as you go along."

I do not for a moment think that Mr. Denny means to be dishonest, but I do think that he cannot help being prejudiced, and I am sure that his prejudices (no doubt unconsciously to himself) affect and colour and often pervert by slipshod paraphrase the true meaning of what is only valuable when it is either read in the original or is translated with scrupulous accuracy.

I may perhaps be permitted to say that in former days I used often to be puzzled on reading Anglican anti-Roman comments on certain passages in the Fathers; but these puzzles were invariably solved when I laid the comments on one side, and read the passages in question for myself in their context. It is this experience, in view of such books as Mr. Denny's, that has been a chief cause of my publishing a translation of St. Cyprian's *Liber De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate*.

The Work of St. Optatus Bishop of Milevis Against the Donatists

WITH APPENDIX

BY THE

REV. O. R. VASSALL-PHILLIPS

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